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W. FERRIS, PINX.

*THE SPEECH OF TITUS BEFORE JERUSALEM*

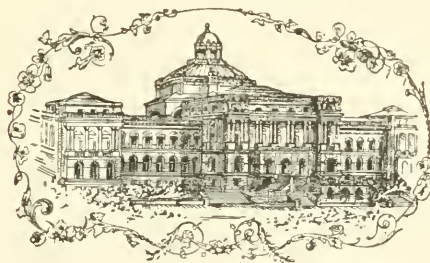


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VOLUME IX

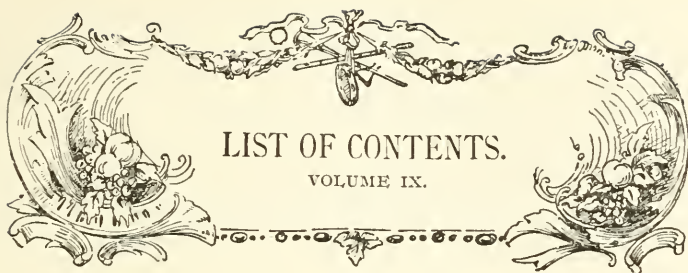
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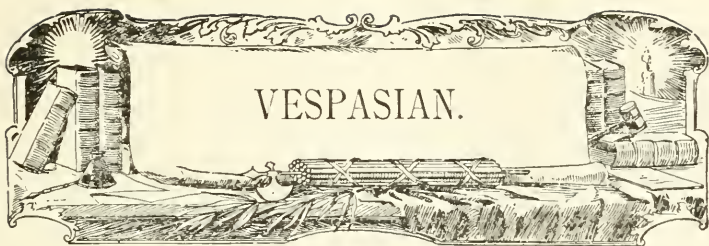
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AMONG the Roman Emperors, known as the Twelve Cæsars, Vespasian holds an eminent place. His pacific and prosperous reign is considered a model of prudent conduct and honorable purpose. Titus Flavius Vespasianus, to use his full Roman name, was the founder of the Flavian dynasty. He was born of a plebeian family near Reate, a Sabine town, in November, 9 A.D. His father was obscure, but his mother was a sister of a Roman Senator. After receiving a scanty education, he entered the army at an early age, served as military tribune in Thrace, was quæstor in Crete and Cyrene, in the reign of Caligula, and subsequently became ædile and prætor. Having acquired a high military reputation, he was commander of a legion in Germany about 43 A.D. under Claudius. Though a strict disciplinarian, he was always very popular with the soldiers.

In 43 A.D. Vespasian commanded a legion of the army which invaded Britain, and he reduced the southwestern parts of the island after gaining several victories. In the year 51 he was consul for two months, and then was appointed governor or Proconsul of Africa. Thus, step by step, this prudent, self-taught soldier and general, by the patient exercise of Roman virtue, rose to an exalted position. Still higher honors awaited him in another remote field of duty. In 66 A.D. he obtained command of the large army which was sent to Judea to subdue the rebellious Jews. His reputation was increased by his conduct of this war. He was about to engage in the siege of Jerusalem when Nero was killed, 68 A.D.

Vespasian acquiesced in the claims of Galba, of Otho, of Vitellius, in succession, but made no active movement in support of either of them. He is said to have been inspired with a fanatical belief in his own good fortune, and under the influence of Oriental diviners, and of their glowing presage of a political saviour, became filled with the idea that he was destined for empire. In July, 69 A.D., he was proclaimed emperor by the army in Syria, and about the same time his competitor Vitellius entered Rome, where he abandoned himself to the grossest debauchery. Vespasian remained in Syria, while part of his army commanded by Mucianus and Antonius Primus marched toward Rome. Vitellius, who rendered himself odious by his cruelty, loitered in Rome, while his army was defeated by Antonius Primus at Bedriacum. Another victory was gained over the forces of Vitellius at Rome, where he was captured and killed in December, 69 A.D.

The Senate then decreed all the honors and prerogatives of empire to Vespasian, who was now at Alexandria, and who gave them assurance that he would repeal the obnoxious laws of Nero, especially in relation to treason. He arrived at Rome in the year 70. The accession of Vespasian to power marks an important epoch in Roman history. It gave an impetus towards social and political reformation. He restored the privileges of the Senate, reformed the courts of law, enforced discipline in the army, which was demoralized by Vitellius, and maintained the character of a strictly constitutional sovereign. He was temperate and frugal in his habits, and by the simplicity of his life he discouraged the luxury and extravagance of the nobles and upper classes, and initiated a salutary change in social manners and domestic economy.

When Vespasian was proclaimed emperor, his son Titus took charge of the war in Judea. In 70 A.D. Titus, with an army of about 75,000 men, began the siege of Jerusalem, which was strongly fortified. The honorable terms which he offered to the Jews were refused, although they were weakened by the dissensions of hostile factions. The Holy City was taken by storm in September, 70 A.D., and the Temple which had been consecrated to the worship of Jehovah was destroyed by fire. For this victory over the Jews, Titus and

his father enjoyed together the honors of a triumph, which is commemorated by the Arch of Titus, still extant in Rome.

Among the events of this reign are the victories of Agricola in Britain, by which most of that island was brought under Roman government. This period has been pronounced by Merivale "the apogee of Rome's military renown." Under Vespasian's rule the empire enjoyed prosperity such as it had not known since the reign of Augustus. Prudent attention was given to replenishing the treasury, which had been exhausted by the prodigal and wasteful acts of Nero and Vitellius, and the revenues of the empire were settled on a stable basis. General tranquillity promoted the prosperity of the people.

Vespasian, though not himself learned, patronized learning and the arts, founded a library in the Forum, and instituted a class of salaried teachers. He is said to have been the foremost of all the Roman princes in the encouragement of a liberal education. Quintilian was the first public instructor who received from the imperial treasury a regular salary. An alliance was henceforth maintained between the teachers of learning and morals, and the guardians of the public peace. Pliny the Elder was a friend and favored officer of the Emperor.

Vespasian was consul for the third time in 71, and in the same year the temple of Janus was closed as a signal that the war was ended. The Roman world had peace for the remaining nine years of his reign. Vespasian rebuilt the Capitol or Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which had been burned in the Civil War by the partisans of Vitellius, and he adorned the city with many other public buildings of great splendor. The people were gratified by the demolition of Nero's golden house, on the site of which were constructed magnificent baths called the Baths of Titus. The greatest of his works was called the Colosseum or Flavian amphitheatre, a large part of which is still existing. Among his other buildings were a magnificent Temple of Peace, and a new Forum, which added to the convenience as well as the splendor of the capital. As censor, Vespasian raised the character of the

Senate by removing unworthy members and promoting good and wise men, including the eminent Agricola.

About 73 A.D., Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium and Cilicia, which previously were considered free states, or were governed by kings, were subjected to Roman governors. Titus, having been admitted to a share of the imperial power, relieved his father from many cares, labors and responsibilities. Flavia Domitilla, the wife of Vespasian, had died before he became emperor.

Throughout his whole career Vespasian maintained the frugal simplicity and homely virtues of the early Romans. He revived the obsolete enactments of the republic which had prosecuted philosophers for the corrupt tendency ascribed to their doctrines, and he banished many pedantic philosophers, who were charged with having intrigued against the government. Public opinion no doubt fully supported him when he resolved to sweep from the city the whole sect of the Stoics as well as of the Cynics. Helvidius Priscus, a Stoic philosopher, was put to death by his order. This is one of the few faults or crimes of which Vespasian is accused. His example is said to have reformed the morals of Rome more than all the laws ever enacted. He died in 79 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Titus.

#### THE EMPIRE PASSES FROM VITELLIUS TO VESPASIAN.

At the moment that the Syrian legions were proclaiming Vespasian, Vitellius was making his entry as emperor into Rome. His behaviour in the Senate, the Forum, and the theatre is described as modest and becoming. He was assiduous in attending the discussions of the Fathers, and suffered himself to be opposed and contradicted in debate, even when obliged to demand the protection of the tribunes. But this outward moderation was set down to weak compliance. He left the affairs of state to be actually managed by Valens and Cæcina with the grossest oppression and extortion, while he surrendered himself wholly to the grossest debauchery. Within the few months of his power he spent nine hundred millions of sesterces (\$35,000,000) in vulgar and brutal sensuality.



Meanwhile the prætorians were disbanded, the police of the city was neglected. The legionaries chose their own quarters at will, inflicting the greatest hardship upon the citizens, till they were found to suffer from intemperance. A portion of them were drafted into the prætorian camp; the rest complained of this preference, and demanded fresh indulgences. The reign of freedmen recommenced. The degradation of Rome was complete; and never yet perhaps had she sunk so low in luxury and licentiousness as in the few months which followed the death of Otho.

Three legions of Vespasian had crossed the Italian Alps under Antonius Primus, who led the van of the whole army of Mucianus. Vitellius, harassed by the revolt of more than one of his divisions, had sent forward both Valens and Cæcina, with all the troops they could muster, to meet him. But Valens lingered behind under the plea of illness; Cæcina covertly meditated defection. Their forces were indeed formidable in numbers, but Primus might rely upon the influences he could employ against them when the armies encountered in the lower districts of the Cisalpine. He boldly challenged them to the combat, refusing to halt even at the instance of his own chief, and his confidence was rewarded by a hard-won victory on the plain of Bedriacum. Cremona fell into his hands, a place of great strength, in which, no doubt, the treasures of the harassed neighborhood had been deposited, and, whether by mistake or of set purpose, it was given over to plunder and burning, as in the worst days of Marius and Sulla.

Vitellius was still at Rome groveling in his beastly indulgences, refusing to credit the account of his disasters; but wreaking his fears and jealousies upon the best of the nobles within his reach. The Flavian generals sent him back their prisoners, that he might learn the truth from their mouths. Vitellius saw, interrogated, and straightway slaughtered them. A brave centurion extorted his leave to visit the scene of warfare and ascertain the state of affairs; but, spurned on his return by his infuriated chief, he threw himself indignantly on his sword. This self-deception could not long continue. Vitellius at last quitted the city at the head of the prætorians,

but he was assailed by fresh disasters on all sides. Primus crossed the Apennines to encounter him, while the populations of Central Italy—the Marsians, Pelignians, and Sannites—rose against him; and the Campanians were hardly held in check by the bands of gladiators at Capua. The two armies confronted one another in the valley of the Nar. Valens, who had been captured, was now slain, and the sight of his head so terrified the Vitellians that they yielded without a blow. Primus deigned to offer terms to Vitellius, which were confirmed by Mucianus. It is difficult to account for this indulgence, which the defenceless emperor greedily accepted, preferring to retire quietly into private life. But he too easily yielded to the instances of some of his adherents in the city, who regarded with horror the approach of the legions which had sacked Cremona. He made his escape back to Rome, and allowed himself to be put at the head of a desperate faction, who drove the favorers of Vespasian, under his brother Sabinus, into the Capitol. The Vitellians could do no more than watch the outlets during the day; at night Sabinus found means of communicating with the Flavian guards beyond the walls. Next day the Vitellians made a disorderly attack upon the place of refuge, which retained the name of a fortress, but was without any regular means of defence. They mounted the ascent from the Forum and reached the gate on the Clivus. The Flavians strove to repel them by flinging stones from the roof above. The Vitellians, in their turn, threw burning missiles into the colonnades and houses above them, and thus drove the defenders from point to point, but still could not effect an entrance. Climbing to the tops of the houses, they flung blazing torches into the Sacred Temple itself, and the august sanctuary of the Roman people was consumed in the raging conflagration.

The assault, the defence, the conflagration were watched by Vitellius from the palace opposite, by the people from the Forum and Velabrum beneath, as well as from the summit of every hill. The citizens were keenly reminded of the sack of Rome by the Gauls, for the soldiers of Vitellius came from Gaul, and were mostly of Gaulish extraction. But the Gauls under Brennus had burned the city only; it was reserved for

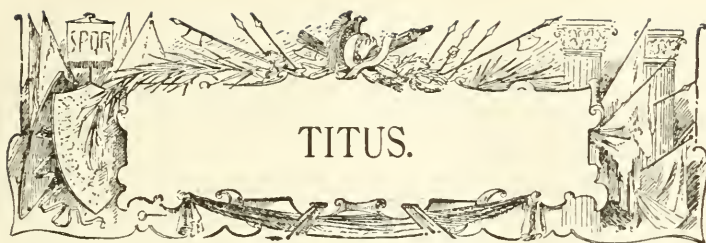
these later barbarians to destroy the temple of the Roman divinities. The fugitives within the precincts were dismayed. Sabinus lost all presence of mind, and made no further attempt at defence. The Gauls and Germans burst in with yells of triumph, and put to the sword all that could not escape. Domitian, the younger son of Vespasian, who had taken refuge in the holy precincts, contrived to slip away in disguise. Sabinus was seized, and Vitellius dared not protect him. Lucius, brother of Vitellius, who commanded some troops for him in the neighborhood, might now have marched boldly to Rome and taken possession of it. But he lost the critical moment, while Primus was advancing slowly but surely, in constant communication with Mucianus, who was also moving to his support. The Flavian legions, as they approached the walls, advanced in three divisions, and attacked three gates of the city. The Vitellians went forth to meet them at all points, soldiers and rabble mingled together, without plan or order. At one point they held the assailants at bay; but in the centre and on the right the Flavians carried everything before them, and drove their opponents from the Campus Martius into the city. The victors entered pell-mell with the vanquished, for the gates of Rome now stood, it seems, always open; and the combat was renewed from street to street, the populace looking gayly on, applauding or hooting as in the theatre, and helping to drag the fugitives from the shops and taverns for slaughter. The rabble of the city threw themselves into the defenceless houses, and snatched their plunder even from the hands of the soldiers. Rome had witnessed the conflicts of armed men in the streets under Sulla and Cinna, but never before such a hideous mixture of levity and ferocity.

Through all these horrors the Flavians forced their way, and drove the Vitellians to their last stronghold, the camp of the prætorians. The lines of this enclosure, formed by a solid wall, were strenuously attacked and desperately defended. The assailants had brought with them the engines requisite for a siege, and now set themselves to their task with determination. They cleared the battlements with catapults, raised mounds to the level of the ramparts, or applied torches to the gates. Then, bursting into the camp, they put every man still

surviving to the sword. Vitellius, on the taking of the city, had escaped from the palace to a private dwelling on the Aventine; but under some restless impulse he returned and roamed through his deserted halls, dismayed at the solitude and silence, yet shrinking from every sound and the presence of a human being. At last he was discovered, half hidden behind a curtain, and ignominiously dragged forth. With his hands bound, his dress torn, he was hurried along, amid the scoffs of the multitude, and exposed to the assaults of the passing soldiery. Wounded and bleeding, he was urged on at the point of the lance; his head was kept erect by a sword held beneath to compel him to show himself, and to witness the demolition of his statues. At last, after every form of insult, he was dispatched with many wounds at the Gemoniæ, to which he had been thus brutally dragged. The death of Vitellius, on the 21st of December, finally cleared the field for Vespasian, to whom, though still far distant, the senators hastened to decree all the honors and prerogatives of empire. Primus and Mucianus adhered faithfully to him, and paid their court to his son Domitian, as his acknowledged representative. The most high-minded of the senators, Helvidius Priscus, a noted disciple of the Stoics, proposed that the national temple should be rebuilt by the nation, but that Vespasian should be invited, as the first of the citizens, to take a prominent part in the restoration. Vespasian and Titus were appointed consuls at the commencement of the new year, and to a civil strife of eighteen months soon succeeded a stable pacification.—C. MERIVALE.







THE Roman Emperor Titus bore the full name of his father, Titus Flavius Vespasianus, but is commonly known by his first name, which is rarely the practice in regard to distinguished Romans. He reigned with such clemency, justice and wisdom, that his subjects gave him the name of "The love and delight of the human race." He was born at Rome, in December, 40 A.D., while his father was still a poor man with slight prospects of advancement. His mother's name was Flavia

Domitilla. Educated in the imperial court, through the favor of the freedman Narcissus, Titus learned to speak Greek fluently and showed great aptitude for learning. Being handsome, with a vigorous, well-formed body, well-trained in military exercises, he made many influential friends. In his youth he served with credit as military tribune in Germany and Britain. He afterward applied himself to the labors of the forum, and obtained the office of quæstor.

In 67 A.D. Titus held a high command in the army which his father led to Palestine to subdue the revolted Jews, and he captured several important fortresses before engaging in the siege of Jerusalem. By his pleasing manner and adroitness, he gained the friendship of Mucianus, governor of Syria, and by reconciling Mucianus and Vespasian, he

promoted his father's accession to the throne. In July, 69 A.D., Vespasian, withdrawing from Judea to take charge of the empire, entrusted to Titus the conduct and termination of the war in Palestine.

The Jews were then in a state of extreme political effervescence. One leader had risen after another, and under the title of Christ, or the Messiah, had engaged their religious sympathies and excited their hopes, by appeal to ancient prophecies and traditions. In the spring of 70 A.D. Titus, with an army of about 75,000 men, began the siege of Jerusalem, which was strongly fortified by nature and art, and was obstinately defended. The defence was impeded by the crowd of worshippers, computed at some hundreds of thousands, who had collected in the city for the celebration of the Passover. The besieged Jews were also weakened by intestine quarrels of factions, and yet were animated by furious fanaticism. Titus offered them honorable terms, which they twice refused, although the inhabitants were perishing by famine. After the siege had lasted several months, the Romans took the city by storm in September, 70 A.D., burned the Temple, which had long been the divinely-appointed place of worship of Jehovah, and destroyed the city, which had witnessed forty years earlier the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. It is estimated that a million persons perished during this siege and capture.

Titus, during his journey to Rome, had an interview with Apollonius, of Tyana, a noted philosopher, who gave him good advice. For the victory over the Jews, Titus and his father together received a triumph in 71 A.D., and Titus was then associated with Vespasian in the government. He had an equal share of the power and authority during the last eight years of his father's life.

On the death of his father, 79 A.D., Titus became sole emperor. He had been very different from his austere and parsimonious father. He came to the sovereignty not without a character, at least among the nobles, for craft and cruelty; but he was still the darling of the soldiers and a favorite with the people. Several writers assert that a great change appeared in his conduct after his accession, and that

his subjects were agreeably disappointed by his conduct. He had offended the people by bringing to Rome Berenice, a Jewish princess, whom he loved and wished to marry. She was a sister of King Agrippa, and was present when St. Paul made a memorable speech before him. (See Acts of the Apostles, chapter xxv., where she is called Bernice.) The prejudice of the Romans against foreigners induced Titus to renounce her and send her away from Rome.

Titus displayed a sincere desire for the happiness of his subjects, punished informers, and assumed the office of Pontifex Maximus, with the purpose of keeping his hands free from blood. The well-filled treasury which Vespasian left enabled Titus to govern the empire without extortion or oppressive taxation. He abolished the law against treason, or at least checked all prosecutions on such charge. The senate and nobles now applauded him as a model sovereign.

During his reign a large part of Rome was destroyed by a conflagration which raged about three days and three nights. The fire swept over a space occupied by important public buildings, consumed the Pantheon, and damaged the Capitol. The generous emperor expressed a determination to indemnify with his own money all the losses caused by the fire. He completed the Flavian Amphitheatre, or Colosseum, which had been commenced by Vespasian, and which is now one of the most magnificent ruins in the world.

The short and pacific reign of Titus witnessed another great calamity, the destruction of the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii by an eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D. The volcanic character of this mountain seems to have been unknown to the Romans before this eruption. Herculaneum was deeply buried under burning lava; and Pompeii was covered with ashes (see Vol. I., p. 396).

Soon after this disaster Rome was visited by a dreadful pestilence by which several thousand persons perished. Titus made strenuous efforts to relieve the distress caused by these calamities. Once, at the end of a day in which he had performed no beneficent act, he exclaimed, "My friends, I have lost a day!" He gave no share of the imperial power to his brother Domitian, for he had reason to fear his jealousy

and distrust his loyalty. He died in 81 A.D., leaving no child but a daughter, and was succeeded by Domitian, whose subsequent cruelty justified his brother's apprehensions.

#### THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

The government of the country of Palestine had undergone many changes since it was first conquered by the Romans under Pompeius. Julius Cæsar had cultivated the favor of the inhabitants, and M. Antonius had conferred the sovereignty of Judea upon Herodes. Augustus confirmed the independence of the Jews under this prince, whom they cherished as a native ruler. At his death, B.C. 4, his ample dominions were divided among his four children, of whom Archelaus occupied Jerusalem and Judæa. But this prince, falling into disfavor with the emperor, his kingdom was taken from him and annexed as a dependency to the Roman province of Syria. Herod Agrippa, grandson of "the Great" Herod, was allowed by the favor of Caligula, and afterwards of Claudius, to reunite the whole of his grandfather's possessions under his own sceptre; but on his death, A.D. 44, the territory was again divided, some portions being given to his brother, and afterwards to his son Agrippa, who held his government in Chalcis, on the borders of Ituræa. Judæa was resumed by the empire. Cæsarea, on the coast of the Mediterranean, was constituted the residence of the procurator of Judæa, who was content for the most part to avoid all collision with the prejudices of the Jews at the national capital of Jerusalem. The Jews were at this period in a state of political effervescence. One leader had risen after another who, under the title of Christ, had engaged their religious sympathies and excited their hopes, by an appeal to prophecies and traditions which pointed to an impending revolution, and the re-establishment of the kingdom of David. Caligula had wantonly trampled on the national prejudices, and had required the priests to place a statue of himself in the great Temple at Jerusalem. Urgent petitions against this act of desecration had been addressed to him, but without effect, and it was only by the politic delay of the procurator and the timely death of the emperor himself that a general and des-

perate outbreak was averted. Claudius was not indisposed to humor these religious scruples, and the oppressions and cruelties exercised by his officers were probably unauthorized by him; but doubtless it was most difficult for any governor on the spot to maintain the peace among a population ever excitable, and ever disposed—not at Jerusalem only, but at Rome and Alexandria, and wherever they were gathered together in considerable numbers—to quarrel among themselves and with all the foreigners around them. At last, under the harsher government of Nero, the spirit of disaffection came to a head. The Jews broke out, not without deep provocation, into a general rebellion. The procurators exercised great severities, and those were avenged by great losses. It had become necessary to make a strong effort once for all, and extinguish forever, at whatever cost, the national aspirations of an unfortunate people. The spirit of the Jews was, indeed, very different from that of the Gauls or the Britons; the influence of their priests was far more powerful than that of the Druids. Their religion, their polity, and their national character were all far more instinct with life. They contended for a distinct national object; and though there were still various shades of opinion among them, though some classes leaned to Rome and counselled submission, the feeling was more general and more persistent than had ever elsewhere animated resistance to the conquerors.

The Sanhedrim, or national Senate, cast the procurator and the King Agrippa equally aside, and assumed the conduct of this national revolt. They divided the country into seven military governments. The command in Galilee, the outpost of Palestine against Syria, was confided to Josephus, the same who has recorded the history of the Jewish war, and who represents himself therein as a zealous, as well as an able commander. At a later period, indeed, in writing an account of his own life, he seems to study to ingratiate himself with the conquerors by declaring that he was all along devoted secretly to the cause of the Romans, and it is as a traitor to Judæa that he has been generally regarded by his countrymen. His defence of Galilee, however able it may have been, was graced by few successes. Vespasian was the captain to



whom the conduct of the war was intrusted by Nero. We are told, indeed, that Josephus held Iotapata for forty-seven days, and Vespasian was himself wounded in the final assault. Josephus relates a marvellous story of the way in which his own life was preserved in the slaughter which followed; but, captured by the Romans, he became from this time a flatterer, a follower, and probably an instrument of the Roman commander.

The tactics of Vespasian were slow and cautious. The reduction of Iotapata, in Galilee, was followed by the surrender of Tiberias and the storm of Tarichea, when the Jews were made fully sensible of the remorseless cruelty with which they would be treated. The campaign of the year following was conducted on the same principle. Vespasian refrained from a direct attack upon Jerusalem, but reduced and ravaged all the country around. During the heat of the struggle for the succession in Rome these operations were relaxed, and Vespasian withdrew to Cæsarea to await the result of revolution at home. Titus, his son, was sent to Antioch to confer with Mucianus on the measures it might be expedient to take, and the fit moment for striking for the empire. His interests were diligently served by Tiberius Alexander, who commanded in Egypt; by Agrippa, king of Chalcis; and in the year 69 he was saluted emperor by his troops.

From that time he ceased himself to direct the affairs of Palestine, which he committed to Titus. The traditions of Roman discipline would not permit him, even at such a crisis, to desist from the paramount duty of securing the ascendancy of the republic over her rebellious province. Titus watched through this period of suspense with his sword drawn, but he took no active measures until the fate of Vitellius was assured. In the year 70 he moved with all the forces he could command against Jerusalem itself. He united four legions in this service, together with twenty cohorts of auxiliaries and the troops maintained by various dependent sovereigns. The whole armament may have amounted to 80,000 men. To these the Jews opposed, from behind their defences, 24,000 trained soldiers, and these too were supported by a multitude of irregular combatants. The defences of Jeru-

saalem, both natural and artificial, were remarkably strong ; but the defenders must have been fatally impeded by the crowd of worshipers, computed at some hundreds of thousands, who had collected within the walls for the celebration of the Passover, and were now unable to escape from them.

But it was by the dissensions of the Jewish factions themselves, more than by any natural obstructions, that the defence was most impeded, and finally frustrated. The reduction of Galilee and Samaria had driven crowds of reckless swordsmen into the city. The supremacy hitherto held with difficulty by the moderate party was violently wrested from them. The Zealots, under their leader Eleazar, filled the streets with tumult and disorder, seized the persons of the chiefs of the nobility and priesthood, and urged the mob to massacre them. When the better sort of people, under Ananus the high-priest, rallied in self-defence, their opponents, more prompt and audacious, seized the Temple and established themselves in its strong enclosure. The Zealots invited assistance from beyond the walls ; Ananus and his friends were speedily overpowered, and the extreme party, pledged against all compromise with Rome, reigned in Jerusalem. Jehovah, they proclaimed, had manifestly declared himself on their side. The furious fanaticism of the Jewish race, at least within the walls of their sacred city, was excited to the utmost ; but while it had many secret opponents within, it met with no assistance from the great Jewish communities at Alexandria, Ctesiphon, or Seleucia. The armies of Titus closed around the devoted city : the "abomination of desolation" stood in "the holy place."

But the Zealots themselves, at the moment of victory, were split into three factions. Eleazar, at the head of the residents in Jerusalem, held his strong position in the inner enclosure of the Temple ; John, of Giscala, who led a less violent party, was lodged in the outer precincts ; Simon Bargiora entered the city with a third army, and set himself to the defence of the ramparts. Eleazar was got rid of by assassination, and the whole of the Temple fortress fell to John ; but between him and Simon there still reigned mutual jealousy

and defiance, which were hardly smothered in front of the common enemy.

Titus advanced from the north and planted his camp on the ridge of Scopus. He first encountered an outer wall which crowned the eminences around the city. The Jews made a spirited defence, and inflicted great loss upon their assailants. But the Romans, proceeding methodically with the means and implements of regular warfare, succeeded in making a breach in these ramparts, and effected a lodgment within them. They blockaded the narrower enclosure which was now before them, but they did not cease from constant attacks upon the second wall, and especially on the citadel Antonia. In the first instance Titus had attempted conciliation, and sent Josephus to the gates with the offer of honorable terms. The enthusiasts in the city had driven away his envoy with arrows. He now repeated his offers, but with no better success. Then at last he determined to proceed to extremities. Famine began to prevail among the Jews. The soldiers required to be served first, and the wretched citizens suffered the direst horrors. Children were eaten by their parents. The terrors of the people were excited by the report of prodigies. The fanatic Hanan traversed the streets repeating the cry of "Woe to Jerusalem," till at last, exclaiming "Woe to me also," he fell by a blow from a Roman catapult. The Romans affirmed that the gates of the Temple had burst open of their own accord, and a voice more than human had been heard exclaiming, "Let us depart hence."

The fortress of Antonia was destroyed, and the Temple close at hand lay exposed to the engines of the assailants. The struggle still continued desperately, and the Romans suffered many reverses. At last the Temple was no longer tenable. John and Simon, united together in their last danger, withdrew into the upper city on Zion, breaking down the causeway which connected it with the Temple on Moriah. The temple itself was stormed and entered over the bodies of a vast multitude of helpless defenders. Titus would have saved the Holy of Holies from the general destruction, but a soldier wantonly fired the inner doors, and the whole of the sacred edifice was soon involved in a common conflagration.

Behind the walls of the upper city the last remnant of the nation stood hopelessly at bay. Once more Titus sent Josephus to parley with them; again the renegade was dismissed with imprecations. Then he came forward himself to the chasm of the broken bridge and conferred, but still in vain, with the leaders of the people. He had shown more clemency than perhaps any Roman chief before him; but his patience was now exhausted, and he vowed to effect the entire destruction of the city. The work of demolition was carried out to the end. Of the multitudes who had crowded on Zion vast numbers were slain in unavailing sallies; famine did the work of death upon many more. The remnant were captured and sold, with many thousands of their countrymen, into slavery. John and Simon concealed themselves in the subterranean galleries of the rock on which Jerusalem is founded. They attempted to work themselves a passage into the country beyond the walls. Their supplies fell short, they were compelled to issue forth and were caught and recognized. John was granted his life in perpetual imprisonment; Simon was reserved to be an ornament of the emperor's triumph. The Jews still maintained themselves for a moment in the fortresses of Machærus and Massada. But the final result was no longer doubtful, nor was the presence of Titus himself any further required for completing the subjugation of the country. He hastened to Rome, and threw himself into the arms of his father, whose jealousy might have been excited by the title of Emperor which the soldiers had fastened upon him. But Vespasian was a man of sense and feeling, and the confidence between the father and son was never shaken. The destruction of Jerusalem, the subjugation of Palestine, redounded to the glory and to the aggrandizement equally of both.

—C. MERIVALE.

#### SPEECH OF TITUS TO THE ROMANS BEFORE JERUSALEM.

Fellow-soldiers, to make an exhortation to men to do what hath no peril in it, is on that very account inglorious to those to whom such exhortation is made; and indeed so it is in him that makes the exhortation, an argument of his own cowardice also. I therefore think that such exhortations

ought then only to be made use of when affairs are in a dangerous condition, and yet are worthy of being attempted by every one themselves; accordingly, I am fully of the same opinion with you, that it is a difficult task to scale this wall; but that it is proper for those that desire reputation for their valor to struggle with difficulties in such cases will then appear, when I have particularly shown that it is a brave thing to die with glory, and that the courage here necessary shall not go unrewarded in those that first begin the attempt.

Let my first argument to move you be taken from what probably some would think a reason to dissuade you, I mean the constancy and patience of these Jews, even under their ill successes; for it is unbecoming you, who are Romans and my soldiers, who have in peace been taught how to make wars, and who have also been used to conquer in those wars, to be inferior to Jews, either in action of the hand, or in courage of the soul, and this especially when you are at the conclusion of your victory, and are assisted by God himself; for as to our misfortunes, they have been owing to the madness of the Jews, while their sufferings have been owing to your valor, and to the assistance God hath afforded you; for as to the seditions they have been in, and the famine they are under, and the siege they now endure, and the fall of their walls without our engines, what can they all be but demonstrations of God's anger against them, and of his assistance afforded us? It will not therefore be proper for you, either to show yourselves inferior to those to whom you are really superior, or to betray that Divine assistance which is afforded you. And, indeed, how can it be esteemed otherwise than a base and unworthy thing, that while the Jews, who need not be much ashamed if they be deserted, because they have long learned to be slaves to others, do yet despise death, that they may be so no longer; and make sallies into the very midst of us frequently, not in hopes of conquering us, but merely for a demonstration of their courage; yet we, who have gotten possession of almost all the world that belongs to either land or sea, to whom it will be a great shame if we do not conquer them, do not once undertake any attempt against our enemies wherein there is much danger, but sit still idle, with

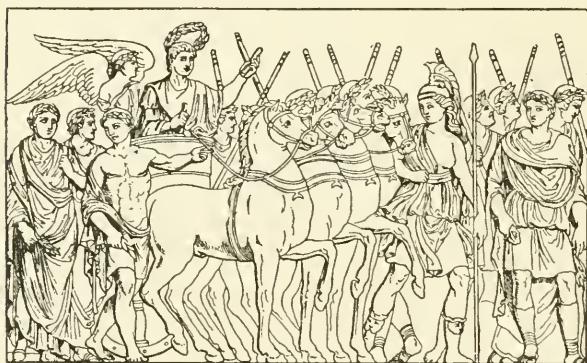


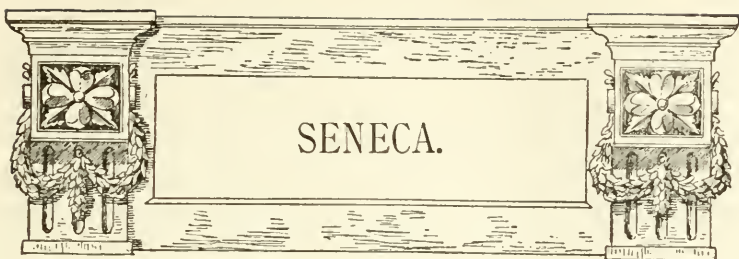
such brave arms as we have, and only wait till the famine and fortune accomplish our work, and this when we have it in our power, with some small hazard, to gain all that we desire ! For if we go up to this tower of Antonia, we gain the city ; and if there should be any more occasion for fighting against those within the city, which I do not suppose, since we shall then be upon the top of the hill, and be upon our enemies before they can have taken breath, these advantages promise us no less than a certain and sudden victory.

I shall at present waive any commendation of those who die in war, and forbear to speak of the immortality of those men who are slain in the midst of their martial bravery ; yet cannot I forbear to imprecate upon those who are of a contrary disposition, that they may die in time of peace, by some distemper, since their souls are condemned to the grave, together with their bodies. For what man of virtue is there who does not know, that those souls which are severed from their fleshly bodies in battles by the sword are received by the ether, that purest of elements, and joined to that company which are placed among the stars ; that they become good spirits, and propitious heroes, and show themselves as such to their posterity afterwards ? while upon those souls that wear away in and with their distempered bodies comes a subterranean night to dissolve them to nothing, and a deep oblivion to take away all the remembrance of them, and this notwithstanding they be clean from all spots and defilements of this world ; so that, in this case, the soul at the same time comes to the utmost bounds of its life, and of its body, and of its memorial also. But since fate hath determined that death is to come of necessity upon all men, a sword is a better instrument for that purpose than any disease whatsoever. Why is it not then a very mean thing for us not to yield up that to the public benefit which we must yield up to fate ?

This discourse have I made, upon the supposition that those who at first attempt to go upon this wall must needs be killed in the attempt, though still men of true courage have a chance to escape even in the most hazardous undertakings. For, in the first place, that part of the former wall that is thrown down is easily to be ascended ; and as for the new-built

wall, it is easily destroyed. Do you, therefore, summon up your courage, and set about this work, and do you mutually encourage and assist one another; and this your bravery will soon break the hearts of your enemies; and perhaps such a glorious undertaking as yours is may be accomplished without bloodshed. For although it be justly to be supposed that the Jews will try to hinder you at your first beginning to ascend to them; yet when you have once guarded yourselves from them, and driven them away by force, they will not be able to sustain your efforts against them any longer, though but a few of you encounter them, and get over the wall. As for the man who first mounts the wall, I should blush for shame if I did not make him to be envied of others, by those rewards I would bestow upon him. If such a one escape with his life, he shall have the command of others that are now but his equals; although it be true also that the greatest rewards will accrue to such as die in the attempt.—F. JOSEPHUS.





THE Roman moralist, Seneca, though a pagan, has been quoted as an authority by councils and fathers of the Christian Church, and has been regarded by some as a disciple of St. Paul. He therefore exemplifies the approximation of Greek philosophy to the spirit of Christianity. Lucius Annæus Seneca was born at Corduba, in Spain, about 3 B.C., and was a son of M. Annæus Seneca, who taught rhetoric

and oratory in Rome for many years. He was educated in that city, studied rhetoric, philosophy and law, and gained distinction as a forensic orator. Like the best educated Romans of his time, he adopted the principles of the Stoics.

The jealousy and hatred of the Emperor Caligula were aroused against Seneca by the ability with which he conducted a case in the Senate. By the influence of Messalina he was banished to Corsica in 41 A.D., on account of his alleged intimacy with Julia, a niece of the Emperor Claudius. Eight years were then spent in Corsica in study and authorship. The best fruit of his exile was his "Consolation," addressed to his mother. At last, Agrippina having persuaded Claudius to recall the banished scholar, he returned to Rome in 48 A.D., and was appointed prætor. He became the confidential adviser of Agrippina, who appointed him tutor to her son, Domitius Nero, and relied on the philosopher's reputation and advice as a means of securing the succession of her son to the throne.

It was his misfortune, rather than his fault, that he had a very bad pupil. According to Tacitus, Seneca endeavored to

reform or restrain the evil propensities of Nero, who became emperor in 54 A.D. He gave him advice in terms like these: "Be courteous and moderate; shun cruelty and rapine; abstain from blood; let youth indeed enjoy its pleasures; amuse yourself, but hurt no man." Seneca was rewarded with the consulship in 57 A.D. He composed the state papers and orations of Nero. Agrippina had associated Burrhus, who was prefect of the prætorians, with Seneca, in the care of her son's interests. The first five years of Nero's reign, the *Quinquennium Neronis*, were long celebrated as an era of virtuous and able government. Seneca, assisted by the manly sense of Burrhus, was the ruling spirit of the time. Nero was enabled to hold the balance between the Senate and the people, and succeeded in gratifying both. But the evil passions of Nero developed with his years and with his growing impatience of restraint. Seneca consented to the death of the ambitious and depraved Agrippina, who had finally conspired against the son for whom she had done and suffered so much.

Seneca amassed a large fortune, and has been accused of avarice on that ground. The philosopher owned magnificent gardens and villas. His power over the emperor was shaken by the death of Burrhus in 63 A.D. The infamous Tigellinus then became Nero's favorite minister and commander of the Prætorians. Tigellinus and others endeavored to ruin Seneca by exciting the suspicion of the tyrant against him. Seneca, becoming alarmed at the altered conduct of his former pupil, asked permission to retire from the public service, and offered to surrender all that he possessed. Nero refused the proffered gift, and gave him a perfidious assurance of his favor. Seneca changed his manner of life, saw little company and requested leave to retire to the country, but even this was refused.

An extensive conspiracy, which probably included many of the chief persons in Rome, was formed against Nero, and Calpurnius Piso was placed at its head. This plot was detected, and Seneca was accused of being one of the conspirators. Whether he was privy to it or not cannot be determined. He was ordered to put himself to death, and having opened his veins, he died with the courage of a Stoic in 65 A.D.

The character and literary merits of this Roman moralist

have called forth great diversity of opinion. He was a brilliant and popular writer, and in modern times has been commended by Montaigne and Niebuhr. According to the Roman critic, Quintilian, his writings "abound in charming defects." His style is aphoristic, antithetical, and somewhat inflated. His essays are Stoic sermons. His school is remarkable for its anticipation of modern ethical conceptions, and for the lofty morality of its exhortations to forgive injuries. Among his works, besides moral treatises, "On Anger," "On Providence," "On Serenity of Mind," and essays on natural science, he published numerous tragedies in verse, and many epistles abounding in excellent maxims. He rejected the popular mythology of the Romans, and may be regarded as a Deist.

#### SENECA IN EXILE.

In A.D. 41, in the prime of life and the full vigor of his faculties, with a name stained by a charge of which he may have been innocent, but of which he was condemned as guilty, Seneca bade farewell to his noble-minded mother, to his loving aunt, to his brothers, the beloved Gallio and the literary Mela, to his nephew, the ardent and promising young Lucan, and, above all—which cost him the severest pang—to Marcus, his sweet and prattling little boy. It was a calamity which might have shaken the fortitude of the very noblest soul, and it had by no means come upon him single-handed. Already he had lost his wife, he had suffered from acute and chronic ill-health, he had been bereaved but three weeks previously of another little son. He had been cut short by the jealousy of one emperor from a career of splendid success; he was now banished, by the imbecile subservience of another, from all that he held most dear.

Corsica was the island chosen for his place of banishment, and a spot more uninviting could hardly have been selected. It was an island "shaggy and savage," intersected from north to south by a chain of wild, inaccessible mountains, clothed to their summits with gloomy and impenetrable forests of pine and fir. Its untamable inhabitants are described by the geographer Strabo as being "wilder than the wild beasts." It produced but little corn and scarcely any



fruit-trees. It abounded, indeed, in swarms of wild bees; but its very honey was bitter and unpalatable, from being infected with the acrid taste of the box-flowers on which they fed. Neither gold nor silver were found there; it produced nothing worth exporting, and barely sufficient for the mere necessities of its inhabitants; it rejoiced in no great navigable rivers, and even the trees, in which it abounded, were neither beautiful nor fruitful. Seneca describes it in more than one of his epigrams as a

“Terrible isle, when earliest summer glows,  
Yet fiercer when his face the dog-star shows;”

and again as a

“Barbarous land, which rugged rocks surround,  
Whose horrent cliffs with idle wastes are crowned,  
No autumn fruit, no tilth the summer yields,  
Nor olives cheer the winter-silvered fields:  
Nor joyous spring her tender foliage lends,  
Nor genial herb the luckless soil befriends;  
Nor bread, nor sacred fire, nor freshening wave;—  
Naught here—save exile, and the exile’s grave!”

In such a place, and under such conditions, Seneca had ample need for all his philosophy. And at first it did not fail him. Towards the close of his first year of exile he wrote the “Consolation to his mother Helvia,” which is one of the noblest and most charming of all his works.

“There is no land where man cannot dwell,—no land where he cannot uplift his eyes to heaven; wherever we are, the distance of the divine from the human remains the same. So then, as long as my eyes are not robbed of that spectacle with which they cannot be satiated, so long as I may look upon the sun and moon, and fix my lingering gaze upon the other constellations, and consider their rising and setting, and the spaces between them, and the causes of their less and greater speed,—while I may contemplate the multitude of stars glittering throughout the heaven, some stationary, some revolving, some suddenly blazing forth, others dazzling the gaze with a flood of fire as though they fell, and others leaving over a long space their trails of light; while I am in the midst

of such phenomena, and mingle myself, as far as a man may, with things celestial,—while my soul is ever occupied in contemplations so sublime as these, what matters it what ground I tread?

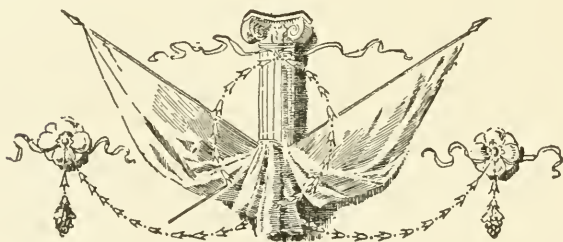
“What though fortune has thrown me where the most magnificent abode is but a cottage? The humblest cottage, if it be but the home of virtue, may be more beautiful than all temples; no place is narrow which can contain the crowd of glorious virtues; no exile severe into which you may go with such a reliance. When Brutus left Marcellus at Mitylene, he seemed to be himself going into exile because he left that illustrious exile behind him. Cæsar would not land at Mitylene, because he blushed to see him. Marcellus, therefore, though he was living in exile and poverty, was living a most happy and a most noble life.

“ ‘One self-approving hour whole worlds outweighs  
Of stupid starers and of loud huzzas ;  
And more true joy Marcellus exiled feels,  
Than Cæsar with a senate at his heels.’

“And as for poverty, every one who is not corrupted by the madness of avarice and luxury knows that it is no evil. How little does man need, and how easily can he secure that! As for me, I consider myself as having lost not wealth, but the trouble of looking after it. Bodily wants are few—warmth and food, nothing more. May the gods and goddesses confound that gluttony which sweeps the sky, and sea, and land for birds, and animals, and fish; which eats to vomit and vomits to eat, and hunts over the whole world for that which after all it cannot even digest! They might satisfy their hunger with little, and they excite it with much. What harm can poverty inflict on a man who despises such excesses? Look at the godlike and heroic poverty of our ancestors, and compare the simple glory of a Camillus with the lasting infamy of a luxurious Apicius! Even exile will yield a sufficiency of necessities, but not even kingdoms are enough for superfluities. It is the soul that makes us rich or poor: and the soul follows us into exile, and finds and enjoys its own blessings, even in the most barren solitudes.

“And if you make the objection that the ills which assail me are not exile only, or poverty only, but disgrace as well, I reply that the soul which is hardy enough to resist one wound is invulnerable to all. If we have utterly conquered the fear of death, nothing else can daunt us. What is disgrace to one who stands above the opinion of the multitude? What was even a *death* of disgrace to Socrates, who by entering a prison made it cease to be disgraceful? Cato was twice defeated in his candidature for the prætorship and consulship: well, this was the disgrace of those honors, and not of Cato. No one *can* be despised by another until he has learnt to despise himself. The man who has learnt to triumph over sorrow wears his miseries as though they were sacred fillets upon his brow, and nothing is so entirely admirable as a man bravely wretched. Such men inflict disgrace upon disgrace itself. Some indeed say that death is preferable to contempt; to whom I reply that he who is great when he falls is great in his prostration, and is no more an object of contempt than when men tread on the ruins of sacred buildings, which men of piety venerate no less than if they stood.”

—F. W. FARRAR.





TRAJAN was so distinguished for his virtue, and for the moderation and simplicity of his mode of life, that he is justly considered one of the best emperors of Rome. After his reign each succeeding emperor was saluted with the wish that he might be more fortunate than Augustus and better than Trajan.

Marcus Ulpius Trajanus was born at Italica, near Seville, in Spain, Sept. 18, 52 A.D., and his youth was passed under the rigorous discipline of the Roman camp. His father, a hardy soldier, whose character was not greatly affected by luxury or culture, had risen from the ranks to be a consul and patrician. The son's training was almost exclusively military. He was by na-

ture adapted to command, having a strong constitution, intrepid courage, good health, a tall stature and a noble presence. His mode of living was very simple, and he shared the privations and sufferings of the private soldiers. He married Pompeia Plotina, a woman of excellent character.

Trajan served under his father in the war against the Parthians, and as military tribune he was employed for ten years in different parts of the empire. He afterwards became prætor and consul. He gained the favor of the aged Emperor Nerva, who, in October, 97 A.D., adopted Trajan as his son, and gave him the rank of Cæsar, the title of Imperator, and the tribunician authority. The Senate confirmed the choice,

and acknowledged him as the successor of Nerva. He was the first emperor who was born out of Italy. When Nerva died, in January, 98 A.D., Trajan was at Cologne, and he did not enter Rome until nearly two years after his accession. But he sent to the Senate a letter in which he assured the senators that he would neither kill nor degrade any of them. The unostentatious entry of this general into Rome without bloodshed was a moral triumph; he marched on foot. According to custom he gave pecuniary donations to the soldiers and to the citizens of Rome. Among his early benefactions to the city were the founding of libraries, the repair of the public buildings, and construction of magnificent bridges. Trajan remodeled the military institutions of the empire, and restored the *morale* of the army. Pliny the Younger pronounced a panegyric on Trajan, whom he commends as "the lawgiver and founder of military discipline."

In civil affairs the old republican formalities were studiously observed, and real power with liberty of speech was conceded to the senate. The pomp which had been introduced by former emperors in imitation of Oriental monarchs was distasteful to Trajan, and was entirely discarded. There was practically no court, and intrigues of any kind were rendered impossible. The Senate gave him the title of *Optimus*, "Best." The internal trade of Italy was facilitated and stimulated by the construction of good roads. Trajan established an institution and a fund to provide for the rearing of poor and orphan children in Italy, and sought to increase the population of that country. The civil wars, the licentiousness of all classes, and the bloody proscriptions had so greatly diminished the number of the people as to excite the alarm of thoughtful observers. Trajan's efforts to gain the good will of Roman society were efficiently aided by his virtuous and benevolent wife, Plotina.

In 101 A.D., Trajan renewed the war against Decebalus, king of Dacia, a commander of great ability and ample resources, who had compelled Domitian to purchase peace by payment of an annual tribute, which Trajan refused to pay. The greater part of the first year thereafter was spent in making roads and fortifications. In the next year, by hard fighting in the mountainous region of Transylvania, north of



the Danube, Trajan gained a decisive victory, and took the capital of Dacia. The war was terminated by a treaty, the conditions of which were dictated by the victorious emperor. About 104 A.D., Trajan sent Pliny the Younger, to Bithynia and Pontus as governor, with the title of legate and proprætor. Many letters which passed between them have been preserved, and among these is the famous letter in which Pliny testified to the good morality of the Christians and inquired how he should treat them. Trajan replied: "The Christians should not be hunted or sought for, nor indicted on anonymous information; but that if convicted they ought to be punished." This was on the ground that they refused to offer incense to the image of the emperor as to a deity. Trajan's general attitude towards religion was moderate and conservative. He appears not to have concerned himself about the belief of Christians.

To prepare for the imminent renewal of the war against Decebalus, Trajan built over the Danube near the mouth of the Aluta, or at Severin, a grand stone bridge designed by Apollodorus. In 105 A.D. he conducted in person a campaign against the Dacians, defeated them in battle and reduced Dacia to the condition of a Roman province, in which many "colonies" of Roman veterans were planted. Returning to Rome in 106, the emperor celebrated a triumph which surpassed in splendor all former triumphs. The games and shows exhibited are said to have lasted four months, during which eleven thousand wild beasts were killed. In commemoration of the conquest of Dacia, a noble column was erected in the Forum Trajanum, by Apollodorus of Damascus, and is still extant. The end of the Dacian war was followed by seven years of peace. In 107 A.D. Trajan visited Antioch, and is said by some Christian writers to have presided there over a tribunal by which Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, was condemned to death. But for some reason the prisoner was sent to Rome, where he suffered martyrdom.

The records for parts of Trajan's reign are very deficient. In the autumn of 106 A.D., he departed from Rome to wage war against the Parthians, the most formidable enemy of Rome, but then weakened by discord. From Antioch he

marched to Armenia, deposed the King, Parthamasiris, and declared that Armenia must be a Roman province. The period from 108 to 115 A.D., is nearly a blank, and it is doubtful whether Trajan ever returned to Rome. In the spring of 115 A.D., he again marched from Syria on an expedition against the Parthians in Mesopotamia. Having crossed the Tigris on a bridge of boats, he subdued Adiabene, in which Arbela is situated, and the greater part of what had been the Assyrian empire. In consequence of his victories, Mesopotamia became a Roman province. Trajan appears to have returned to Antioch in the winter of 115, during which a great earthquake occurred there. Many people were killed, but Trajan escaped with slight injury.

In 116 A.D., the emperor marched against Babylon, which he took without resistance from the Parthians. A Roman fleet descended the Euphrates, and the ships were conveyed on rollers to the Tigris to co-operate with the army which captured Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthian kingdom.

The king of Parthia was deposed, and the Roman emperor descended the Tigris to its mouth. There the opportunity of new conquests tempted him. Seeing a vessel ready to sail for India, the veteran general exclaimed that if he were a younger man he would undertake the conquest of India. While he was engaged in a voyage of reconnoissance in the Persian Gulf, the natives of the provinces which he had recently conquered, revolted, and destroyed or expelled the Roman garrisons. Maximus, a Roman to whom Trajan had given the command of a separate army, was defeated and killed in Mesopotamia. The whole country east of the Tigris had risen against the Romans. Trajan's general, Lucius, took Edessa by storm and burned it. The conquest of Arabia is recorded by several medals among the exploits of Trajan. In 117 A.D., he attacked Atrá, a desert city, whose importance is attested by grand ruins; but the scarcity of water and the bravery of the Arabs, who defended the place, forced him to raise the siege. Trajan's expedition into Asia was perhaps the most brilliant in the extent and rapidity of its conquests of any exploits of the Romans. But the aged general fell ill and set out for Italy, leaving Hadrian in Syria. Trajan did

not accomplish his journey, but died at Selinus, in Cilicia, in August, 117, after a reign of nineteen years and six months. He left no children, and was succeeded by his cousin Hadrian.

Trajan has the reputation of being a great statesman, under whose admirable administration judicious economy went hand in hand with genuine magnificence and liberality. He never imposed on the people of Italy new and oppressive taxes, and never raised revenue by confiscation and proscription. His great work was the Forum Trajanum, which surpassed in extent and splendor every similar work of the Cæsars before him. The monumental column of Trajan, 128 feet high, stood in the centre of this forum, which was adorned by two libraries, one for Greek and one for Latin works, and was bounded on one side by a magnificent basilica.

#### TRAJAN'S ENCOUNTERS WITH THE CHRISTIANS.

Trajan is Emperor. Amongst his subjects is the rhetorician Dion, of Bithynia, surnamed Chrysostomus, the Golden-Mouthed. He addressed himself to his sovereign. "In the first place," he says, "the ruler must be a lover of the gods, inasmuch as he hath obtained his majesty from them." To maintain the faith that was at the summit of the imperial institutions, Dion proposes no new authority. "For the Emperor's power," he remarks, "is absolute. The Emperor's will is law."

The appeal was made to willing ears. No one believed in his own supremacy more implicitly than Trajan. Nor was this belief so unfounded in him as it would have been in most of his predecessors. The classes by whom the sovereign had been wont to be swayed, the courtiers and the soldiers of the imperial realms, found a master in the Emperor Trajan. On him, too, the subject classes, the proletary and the provincial, the slave and the criminal, found themselves directly depending. His determination extended beyond the frontier. "I will have Dacia," he was wont to boast, "for my province. I will cross the Danube and the Euphrates."

Were the use of this power to be selfish, Trajan could have discerned no better means of sustaining it than by adherence

to the institutions of old. To preserve them was equally serviceable, in case he purposed to turn his authority to generous ends. It was from the relics of the ancient statutes and the ancient magistracies that the founders of the imperial supremacy had constructed it. To preserve and to extend it, Trajan could but resort to the same materials. With this persuasion, he restored many of the forms and the offices which had been overborne in the convulsions of the earlier reigns. The same spirit would show itself in relation to the imperial religion. Its rites would be sustained, its deities defended against the inroads that had been made during the latter years.

Such were the views of the sovereign with whom the Christians first came to open encounters. The Governor of Syria sent to inform Trajan that an aged man had been arraigned before him on the charge of professing the Christian faith. To force the prisoner to abjure it, tortures were tried; but in vain. Ordered to crucifixion, he died with such constancy that the governor himself was astonished at the fortitude of his victim. The martyr was Simeon, the successor of St. James at Jerusalem.

This was vexatious intelligence for Trajan. Nor was this all of the sort that he received. The very next year apparently, Pliny, then in charge of the northern province of Asia Minor, wrote his often quoted letter to the emperor. "An anonymous presentment," he says, "containing numerous names, was placed in my hands." Numerous arrests of course ensued. "Of those accused," continues Pliny, "some denied that they were, or that they had been Christians. All who joined with me in invoking the gods, and in sacrificing with incense and wine before your statue, besides blaspheming Christ, I ordered to be discharged, inasmuch as they who are really Christians cannot, it is said, be compelled to do any such things. Others confessing that they had been Christians, but denying that they were so at this time, . . . declared that this was the sum of their guilt or their error, whichever it might be called. They had been accustomed to assemble on a stated day before dawn, when they would sing alternately a hymn to Christ as to a divinity. They would also bind

themselves by oath not to commit any sort of crime, neither theft, nor robbery, nor adultery, as well as not to violate their word, or refuse, when called upon, to pay what they owed. This being done, they would separate, and meet again for the purpose of eating a meal in common and without offence. . . . I thought it necessary, however, to make sure of the facts in the case, by putting two of their maidens, called ministers, to torture. But I discovered nothing besides a wicked and extravagant superstition." The governor goes on to state the detriment sustained by the temples and the observances of the imperial religion. He had not hesitated, he informs the sovereign, to order all persisting in their Christian professions to be executed, with the exception of such as declared themselves Roman citizens; these he had ordered to be conveyed to Rome. The dispatch closes with a reference to the great numbers "of every age, rank, and sex" adhering to the new faith, "from which," concludes Pliny, "a multitude may be reclaimed, provided an opportunity for repentance is allowed."

Had these tidings from the East found Trajan reposing at Rome, he would probably have started up to order the extermination of the Christians. But he was in hot pursuit of the victories on which he had long set his heart, and from which he could not look back with any deep interest upon the movements of his Asian or Syrian subjects. He was content with moderate measures. "You have done as you ought," he writes to Pliny, "in examining the cases of those arraigned before you as Christians. Yet there is no single rule that can at all times be observed. They must not be sought out. But if they are accused and convicted, they must be punished. Whoever, on the other hand, shall deny that he is a Christian, and make this manifest by his deeds, or, in other words, by sacrificing to our gods, he, although previously suspected, shall by his repentance obtain pardon. But anonymous informations are not to be received in relation to any charge; for they are the worst precedents, as well as the least appropriate to our times." The flies, as Trajan thought them, that buzzed about his chariot, were thus, he believed, to be brushed away. He had given much the same directions to Pliny in prohibiting the formation of a company of firemen at Nicomedia.



Or if the emperor supposed the Christians to be of too great consequence to be so easily disposed of, he would still have postponed a more direct encounter with them until his foes upon the borders were overcome.

Still on his march, Trajan arrived at Antioch. The accounts concerning his Christian subjects have become more formidable. He must turn aside, he finds, from his preparations for conquest abroad, to beat down the independence that is showing itself at home. He orders the head of the Antioch community to be brought before him.

This was Ignatius. In his youth he is said to have been the disciple of the principal Apostles. In his later years, he is represented as the peculiar champion of the supremacy to which the authorities appointed by the Apostles were entitled in their respective communities. A man of resolution and of inspiration, Ignatius was admirably adapted to sustain the liberty of the Christians against the imperial power. The report of his examination before Trajan is far from being entirely trustworthy. But it recalls the angry emperor and the devoted Christian in much the same guise that they must have worn before guards and wondering spectators around the imperial tribunal.

"Who is this evil spirit," asked Trajan, "that hath not only disobeyed my commands to sacrifice before the gods, but persuaded others to their destruction?" "No one," answers Ignatius, "can call a Theophorus an evil spirit." "And who is Theophorus?" "It is he," replies the Christian, "who carries Christ within his breast." "Do we then," haughtily rejoins the Emperor, "appear to thee to have no gods with whom we can confront our adversaries?" "You are wrong in calling your spirits by the name of gods," says Ignatius; "there is but one God, who made the heavens, the earth, the sea and all things in them; and there is but one Christ Jesus, His Only Begotten Son, whose grace I am to enjoy." "Meanest thou him who was crucified under Pontius Pilate?" "Him," answers Ignatius, "who hath crucified sin and placed all evil spirits beneath the feet of those who bear Him in their hearts." "Dost thou, then, carry about Christ within thee?" "Even so," responds the Christian.

Now that Trajan had actually encountered his Christian subjects, he determined that the effect should not be lost, either upon them or upon the Heathen around them. Instead of being punished at Antioch, Ignatius was sentenced to be carried in chains to Rome, in order to perish in sight, as it were, of the whole empire. "I thank Thee, Lord," exclaims the Christian, "that Thou hast allowed me to receive this honor in love for Thee, thus to be bound with Thine Apostle Paul!" Claspings his chains, and praying for the Church at Antioch with tears, Ignatius was led away by the surrounding soldiery.

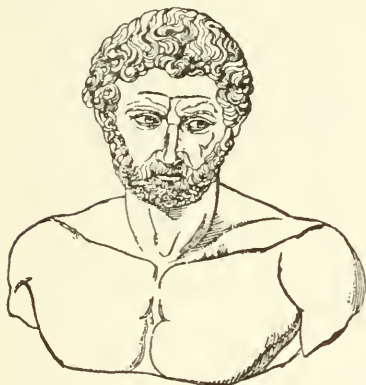
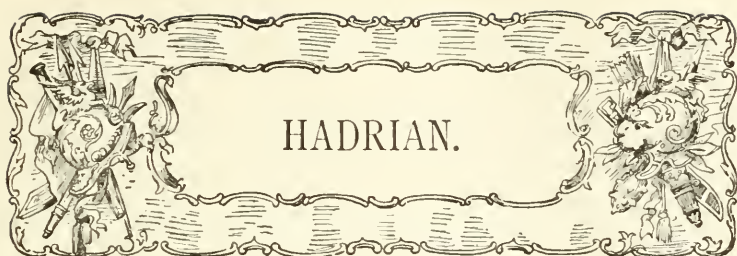
Farther than this, it may not be safe to follow the traditions concerning the martyrdom of Ignatius. Nor can we turn with entire confidence to the Epistles which purport to have been written during his voyage to Rome, in prospect of impending death. Yet here again we find passages true to the fortitude with which the steadfast Christian would naturally encounter persecution. "From Syria to Rome, I am fighting with wild beasts, by land and sea, by night and day, being bound to ten leopards, that being the number of the soldiers with me, who, even when kindly treated, become more cruel. But in the midst of these wrongs, I am learning more. . . . Now I am beginning to be a believer. Nothing of things visible or invisible can now prevent me from enjoying Christ. Fire and the cross, herds of beasts, cuts, divisions, scatterings of bones, swoons, bruises on every limb, the bitter tortures of the evil one, may come upon me, provided only that I enjoy Jesus Christ." Still stronger are the expressions of "desire for death." "I have no wish to live any longer after the manner of men; and this will continue to be my feeling, if ye will but agree with me. . . . I beseech you not to have any unseasonable affection towards me. Let me become the food of the wild beasts; for it is through them that I shall enjoy God."

Other Christians are said to have met with martyrdom. The encounters which they had had with their sovereign and his ministers could not but be followed by encounters with their fellow-subjects. No sooner was it once decided by Trajan that the refusal to offer sacrifice to him or to the Heathen dei-

ties was punishable by death, than the wide empire must have rung with assaults upon the Christians. The effect upon the persecutors was to increase their dependence on the ruler whom they were serving in a new capacity. But what they lost was more than compensated by what the persecuted gained in point of liberty. Not all endeavored to prove themselves free. But such as did, succeeded. The liberty of the Christians expanded with struggles akin to those beneath which the liberty of the Heathen had dwindled to extinction.

The reign of Trajan closes. The passage of the Danube, leading to the nominal conquest of Dacia, had been celebrated by protracted festivities at Rome. New wars had been kindled. The Euphrates had been crossed on the way to victory over the Parthians. But the regions behind the imperial conqueror had become restless. Obligated to rouse himself from his dreams of Eastern conquests, Trajan dies on his way back to Rome.—S. ELIOT.





THE Roman emperor Hadrian possessed the various talents of the statesman, the warrior, and the scholar, and made it his aim and policy to maintain the dignity of the empire without enlarging its limits. Gibbon expresses the opinion that "he was by turns an excellent prince, a ridiculous sophist, and a jealous tyrant."

Publius Ælius Hadrianus was born in Rome on the 24th of January, 76 A.D. His father, Hadrianus Afer, was a first cousin of the Emperor Trajan, and his mother was Domitia Paulina. He was liberally educated at Athens, where he learned all the sciences and accomplishments, from music to mathematics and philosophy. His memory was excellent, his genius versatile, and almost universal. His physique was admirable and symmetrical. "The high places of Roman society," says Merivale, "had seen no such universal talents since those of the incomparable Julius, and Hadrian might rival, moreover, the son of Venus himself in the majestic beauty of his person and the gracefulness of his manners." At an early age he began to serve in the army in Upper Germany, and was patronized by his guardian, Trajan, who then had a high command on the frontier. In the reign of Domitian, Hadrian was a military tribune in the army of Pannonia. He married, about 97 A.D., Julia Sabina, a niece of Trajan.



When Trajan was adopted by Nerva (96 A.D.) the army on the Danube deputed Hadrian to carry their congratulations to his patron. Hadrian was then rapidly promoted, and when appointed quæstor in 101, he accompanied Trajan in his first expedition against Dacia. He next became tribune of the people, and commanded a legion in Trajan's second campaign against Decebalus, King of Dacia. In acknowledgment of his services Trajan gave him a diamond ring, which he had received from Nerva. He was chosen prætor in the year 107, and then, becoming governor of Lower Pannonia, he checked an invadement of the Sarmatians. The strictness of his discipline and his meritorious civil administration recommended him for the highest dignity a subject could obtain, and he was appointed consul suffect in 109 A.D. By the influence of Plotina, the wife of Trajan, he was appointed præfect of Syria in 114, and he was legate of the army which Trajan led against the Parthians in 115. After the death of Sura, the chief adviser of Trajan, Hadrian possessed a larger share of Trajan's confidence.

Trajan, though childless, had not adopted any heir. But when the emperor was disabled by illness in Syria, he gave the command of his army to Hadrian, who was at Antioch when Trajan died. Plotina used her influence to procure the succession for Hadrian, and when Trajan was at the point of death, she either persuaded him to adopt her favorite or fabricated a decree for his adoption which could not be safely disputed. His succession was confirmed by the senate and the army, and he became emperor without opposition in August, 117 A.D.

The beginning of his reign was marked with moderation; he declined extraordinary honors, and remitted accustomed tributes. He made peace with the Parthians, abandoned Trajan's conquests in the East, and resolved to make the Euphrates the boundary of the empire. He extended and increased the provision for poor children in Italy by fresh endowments, and rendered himself popular by a great reduction of taxes. "His vast and active genius," says Gibbon, "was equally suited to the most enlarged views, and the minute details of civil policy." His life was almost a per-



petual journey, and he gratified his curiosity in the discharge of his duty.

The dates of the reign of Hadrian are uncertain. He took the command of the troops in various quarters, and visited every province of the empire. In 118 he marched with an army to the frontier of Dacia to repel an inroad of barbarians; but he showed a greater desire to make peace with them than to conquer them. During his absence from Rome four senators, who had been prominent as generals, were accused of conspiring against the emperor, and were put to death by the Senate. Hadrian professed that they were executed without his order, and when he returned to Rome he renewed the assurance that the life of a senator should be ever sacred in his eyes. He also issued a decree that the estates of criminals should no longer accrue to the emperor, but to the public treasury; and he declared that he would so govern the commonwealth that all should know that it belonged to the people, and not to himself.

In his visit to Britain, about 120 A.D., Hadrian not only checked the attacks of the Caledonians by the establishment of military stations, but built a famous wall across the island from Solway Firth to the mouth of the Tyne, hoping thereby to secure the Roman province from the incursions of the Caledonians. Careless of the difference of the seasons and climates, he marched on foot and bareheaded over the snows of Caledonia and the sultry plains of Upper Egypt. He endeavored to leave in each province buildings and monuments which might adorn the country, while testifying to his presence and power.

He protected the provinces by punishing cruel and rapacious governors. Under his long reign the empire enjoyed peace and prosperity, and the Roman name was revered by the most remote nations of the earth. Arts were encouraged, the laws reformed, the laws and military discipline maintained without war. By every honorable expedient the friendship of the barbarians was invited, and efforts were made to convince mankind that the Roman power was actuated by the love of order and justice. The emperor himself, distinguished by his genial temper and affability,

lived familiarly with his friends, cultivated various kinds of literature, and sought converse with learned men.

The chief record of the latter part of his reign is the imperfect account of his journeys through every province of his empire, till he finally settled for a few years in Rome. In his first progress he visited Gaul, Germany, Spain, Mauritania, Athens and Carthage, and conferred with the King of Parthia. The result of this interview was that the Roman and Parthian empires maintained peace with each other during his reign. Hadrian's second progress included a long residence at Athens and a residence at Antioch and Alexandria. He discouraged the persecution of the Christians, whom he recognized as loyal subjects, and at Athens he listened graciously to the "apologies," made in their behalf by Quadratus and Aristides.

Hadrian was one of the greatest of the imperial builders, and he had acquired the technical knowledge of an architect. In his journeys he was accompanied by several architects. By him Athens was embellished with temples, libraries and other buildings. The Olympeion, or Temple of Jupiter Olympius, which had been commenced on a grand scale by Pisistratus, being about 350 feet long and 170 feet wide, was now completed. One part of Athens was either rebuilt or embellished so much that it received the name of Hadriano-polis. During his residence in Alexandria he left there also abundant proofs of his munificence in the erection of noble and useful buildings, and increased the salaries of teachers. Antinous, the emperor's beautiful favorite, having been drowned in the Nile in 132, Hadrian built in his honor a city named Antinoöpolis on the Nile.

The only memorable disturbance of his reign was caused by the Jews of Palestine, who revolted about 131 A.D., under the leadership of Barcochebas, who pretended to be the Messiah, and claimed supernatural powers. To quell this formidable insurrection, Hadrian sent his best generals with a large army. The Jews resisted fiercely for some years, but were defeated in several battles, and their leader was killed. The slaughter of the Jews in their final contest is counted by hundreds of thousands, and their land was again depopulated.

On the site of Jerusalem Hadrian planted a Roman colony and built a town called *Ælia Capitolina*. A temple was erected to Jupiter on the ruins of the Jewish Temple.

The emperor resided for a short time in Antioch, then the third city in the empire in population and wealth, but was disgusted with the frivolity and depravity of its inhabitants, and returned to Athens. Finally, in 134, he took up his residence in Rome, and ceased his restless wanderings.

Hadrian understood the proper duty of a Roman emperor better than his predecessors, and he did more than any of them to consolidate the empire and to civilize the people. He was probably the first who conceived the idea of governing Italy and the conquered provinces as one homogeneous empire. Under him were reconciled with eminent success things hitherto found irreconcilable: a contented army and a peaceful frontier; an abundant treasury and a lavish expenditure; a free senate and a stable monarchy. The edifices which Hadrian erected in Rome are said to have surpassed in magnificence all the works of his predecessors. The university which he founded at Rome was called the *Athenæum*. At Tibur he built a villa which was eight miles in circuit. On the bank of the Tiber he erected for himself a Mausoleum, the remains of which are called the Castle of St. Angelo, and form one of the most striking monuments of Rome. Among his works was a Temple of Roma and Venus, which was the largest in size and the most splendid in its features of the religious edifices in Rome.

As Hadrian had no son, he resolved to choose a colleague and adopt an heir. His first choice was a young noble named Verus, who received the title of *Cæsar*, but died a few years later. Hadrian finally adopted T. Aurelius Antoninus, who was very acceptable to the people of all classes. In his last months Hadrian suffered from a tedious and painful disease, which rendered him suspicious and cruel. The architect Appollodorus was put to death for criticizing the emperor's work. The grammarian Favorinus more readily yielded to the emperor's notions, saying it was not wise to dispute with the master of thirty legions. Hadrian died in July, 138 A.D. The Senate, irritated by his recent harshness, became forget-

ful of the many years of tranquil prosperity enjoyed under him, and could hardly be persuaded by his successor to render to his memory the customary honors. When they yielded, it was rather out of deference to the new emperor than from regard for the departed Hadrian.

The most celebrated product of Hadrian's pen is his brief "Dying Address to His Soul." Its five lines are thus literally translated :

"Little wandering, soothing spirit,  
Guest and comrade of the body,  
Now in what regions wilt thou go,  
Pallid, stiff, and stripped quite bare,  
And no longer jest, as wonted?"

#### THE IMPERIAL TOURIST.

Hadrian was far from traveling merely as an antiquarian or art critic, for he left in every land enduring traces of his present care. The bridges, aqueducts, and theatres were repaired, fresh public works were undertaken, municipal accounts were overhauled, the governors' official acts reviewed, and every department of the public service thoroughly sifted and controlled. The imperial treasury was seen to gather in its stores in the interest of the provinces at large, and not for a few dissolute favorites at court or for the idle populace of Rome. To symbolize in striking forms his impartial care for all his subjects, he was ready to accept local offices of every kind, and discharge by deputy the magisterial functions in the district towns under every variety of national title.

In the movements of the imperial tourist there was little luxury or ostentation. He walked or rode in military guise before his guard, with his head uncovered in all weather, ready to share without a murmur the legionary's humble fare, and to bear all the heat and labor of the day. History gives us few details as to the exact course and order of his wanderings; but inscriptions upon bronze and stone abound with the tokens of his energy in every land, and of the thankfulness with which each province hailed the presence of its ruler.

In Britain, which had seen no emperor since Claudius, he came to inspect the menaced frontier, and to plan the long

lines of defence against the free races of the north. In Africa we find him soothing the disquiet caused of late by the panic fears of Jewish massacres and Roman vengeance. His diplomacy and liberal courtesies dispel the clouds of war that gather on the lines of the Euphrates and are serious enough to require his presence on the scene. On the plains of Troy we hear of him gazing around him in the spirit of a pilgrim, and solemnly burying the gigantic relics in which his reverent fancy saw the bones of Ajax. The great towns of western Asia are proud to let their emperor see their wealth, their industry, their teeming populations; they have to thank him for many a public monument of note, and record upon the coinage in many a varying phrase and symbol his justice, liberality and guardian care.

But it was in Athens that he tarried longest, or hither he came most frequently to find repose as in his favorite home. Here in the centre of the old Hellenic art, he put off awhile the soldier and the prince, and soothed himself with the amenities of liberal culture. He tried to fancy himself back in the Greek life of palmier days; he presided at the public games, sat by to witness the feats of literary skill, raised the theatres and temples from their ruins, and asked to be admitted to the venerable mysteries of their national faith. To the Athens of old days he added a new quarter, to be called henceforth Hadrian's city; he gave it a new code of laws to rival those of Draco and of Solon, and recalled some shadowy memories of its days of sovereign power by making it mistress of the isle of Kephallonia. It had already academic fame, and drew its scholars from all lands; its public professorships had given a recognized status to its studies; fresh endowments were bestowed upon its chairs with a liberal hand, and nothing was spared for the encouragement of learning.

The lecturers on rhetoric and philosophy, the so-called sophists, basked in the sunshine of imperial favor, had immunities and bounties showered upon them, and were raised at times to offices of state and high command. One of them was intrusted with a princely fortune to beautify the city which he honored with his learned presence. Another found his professional income large enough to feed his fellow-citizens



in time of famine. A third, the writer Arrian, was taken from his Stoic musings to fill the place of general and governor of Cappadocia, one of the largest of the provinces of Rome. There in his turn he followed the example set him in high quarters, started from Trapezus (Trebizond) upon a journey of discovery round the coasts of the Black Sea, visited the seats of the old colonial enterprises of Miletus, studied with a careful eye the extent of trade and the facilities for intercourse in prosperous regions not yet ruined by the incursions of barbarian hordes. The explorer's journey ended, he wrote a valuable memoir to his master; which is of interest as gathering up all that geography had learned upon the subject.

There was yet another ancient land which had manifold attractions for the tourist. It was seemingly in later life that Hadrian tarried long in Egypt, to explore the wonders of its art and study the genius of its people. He looked no doubt with curious eye upon the pyramids, the sphinxes, and the giant piles of Carnac, and the rude lines may still be read upon the face of Memnon's vocal statue which tell us of the visit of his wife Sabina. His curious fancy found enough to stir it in the secrets of the mystic lore which had been handed down from bygone ages, in the strange medley of the wisdom and the folly which crossed each other in the national thought, in their strong hold on the belief in an unseen world and the moral government of Providence, in the animal worship which had plunged of late a whole neighborhood into deadly feud about the conflicting claims of cat and ibis, and made rival towns dispute in arms their right to feed in their midst the sacred bull called Apis for the adoration of the rest. He could not but admire the great Museum of the Ptolemies, the magnificent seat of art and literature and science, the home for centuries of so much academic wit and learning.

In that land of many wonders the people of Alexandria were not the least. In a letter to his brother-in-law which still remains we may see the mocking insight with which the emperor studied the changing moods of the great city, full, as it seemed to him, of soothsayers, astrologers, and quacks, of worshipers of Christ and votaries of Serapis, passing in their fickleness from extreme of loyalty to that of license, so indus-

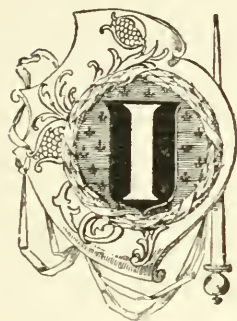
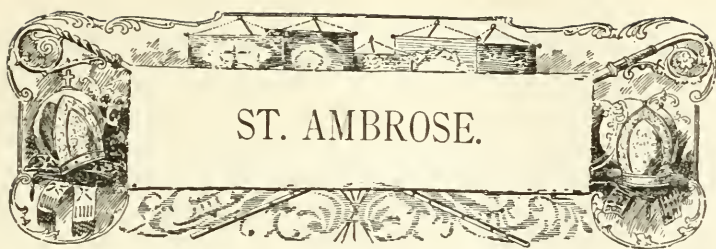
trious by instinct as to tolerate no idle loungee in their midst, and yet withal so turbulent as to be incapable of governing themselves, professing reverence for many a rival deity, yet all alike paying their court to Mammon.

But even as he scoffed at the fanciful extravagance of Egypt, he was unmanned by the spell of her distempered thought. As he traveled on the Nile, we read, he was busy with magic arts which called for a human victim. One of his train, a Bithynian shepherd of rare beauty, was ready to devote himself, and died to give a moment's pleasure to his master. Another story tells us only that he fell into the river, and died an involuntary death. But both agree in this at least, that Hadrian loved him fondly, mourned him deeply, and would not be comforted when he was gone. He could not bring him back to life, but he could honor him as no sovereign had honored man before. The district where he died must bear his name, and a city grew on the spot where he was buried. If the old nomes of Egypt had their tutelary beasts which they worshiped as divine, the Antinoite might claim like rank for the new hero who had given it a name, might build temples to his memory, consult his will in oracles, and task the arts of Greece to lodge him worthily. Soon the new religion spread beyond those narrow bounds. City after city of the Greek and Eastern world caught the fever of this servile adoration, built altars and temples to Antinous, founded festivals to do him honor, and dressed him up to modern fancy in the attributes and likeness of their ancient gods. The sculptor's art lent itself with little scruple to the spreading flattery of the fashion, reproduced him under countless forms as its favorite type of beauty, while poets laureate sung his praises, and provincial mints put his face and name upon their medals.

We may see the tokens at this time of an influence rather cosmopolitan than Roman. By his visible concern for the well-being of the provinces, by his long-continued wanderings in every land, by his Hellenic sympathies and tastes, Hadrian lessened certainly the attractive force of the old imperial city, and dealt a blow at her ascendancy over men's minds. Not indeed that he treated her with any marked neglect. The round of shows and largesses went on as usual: the public

granaries were filled, the circus was supplied with costly victims, and the proud paupers of the streets had little cause to grumble. The old religions of home growth were guarded by the state with watchful care, and screened from the dangerous rivalry of the deeper sentiment or more exciting rituals of the East. In her streets he himself wore the toga, the citizen's traditional dress of state, required the senators to do the like, and so revived for a time decaying custom. But the provinces began to feel themselves more nearly on a level with the central city. Every year the doors of citizenship seemed to open wider as one after another of the towns was raised by special grace to the Latin or the Roman status. Each emperor had done his part towards the diffusion of the rights which had been the privilege of the capital in olden time; and Hadrian made them feel that he was ruling in the interests of all without distinction, since he spent his life in wandering through their midst, and met their wants with liberal and impartial hand. They looked therefore less and less to Rome to set the tone and guide the fashions. The great towns of Alexandria and Antioch, the thriving marts of Asia Minor, were separate centres of influence and commerce; and Greece, meanwhile, spectral and decayed as were her ancient cities, resumed her intellectual sway over men's minds, students of all lands flocked to her university of culture, and the tongue which her poets, philosophers, and orators had spoken became henceforth without a rival the literary language of the world. The speech of Cicero and Virgil gradually lost its purity and power; scholars disdained to pen their thoughts in it: taste and fashion seemed to shun it, and scarcely a great name is added after this to the roll of its writers of renown.—W. W. CAPES.





IN the fourth century Christianity was the dominant religion of the Roman Empire. The old faith had lost in numbers and influence, and received social ostracism as being only the pagan, that is, the peasant religion. The Christian Church had little to fear from the old enemy of Roman superstition, but much cause of disquietude from hypocrisy and hollow piety on the one hand, and bitter sectarian hostility on the other. The church's history at this critical juncture is adorned with the illustrious name of Ambrosius, Archbishop of Milan.

Ambrose was born in the year 340, in the palace of his father, Ambrosius, pretorian prefect of Gaul. His mother was a devout Christian; his sister, the oldest of the family, received the veil at the hands of Pope Liberius; his brother, Satyrus, became an eloquent lawyer and the governor of a province. Between these brothers and the sister there remained through life a bond of the closest affection. The family counted among its ancestors several men of pretorian and consular rank, and one martyr for the Christian faith who suffered under Diocletian. His father having died when Ambrose was only twelve years of age, his mother left Treves and went to reside at Rome, where she might obtain for her son an education befitting his rank and the expectations formed of him. He was well trained in Greek and Latin literature, and seems to have made a special study of Virgil.

On completing his classical studies Ambrose proceeded to



Milan, where he devoted himself to the study of law, and soon acquired such a high reputation that Petronius Probus, prefect of Italy and Illyria, made him one of his assessors, and brought him under the notice of the Emperor Valentinian. In a few years he was made consul, with the government of Liguria and Æmilia, receiving as his instructions: "Go and act, not as a judge, but as a bishop." In other words, he was to modify the rigor of the Roman laws, break the chain of torture, and be considerate and helpful to the people. Ambrose faithfully carried out the injunctions, and by his moderation and Christian example, gained the esteem and attachment of the people.

The Christian religion had by this time fairly laid hold of men's minds and was rapidly becoming the only inspiration in Roman society. Its progress was by no means arrested by the violent disputes by which its professors were agitated. Every man capable of thought was enlisted in the ranks of one or other of the two great rival schools, the Arian and the Nicene. The religious spirit had consigned the dignities of war and politics to the second rank; the Church was rising, and the empire tottering to its fall.

Milan, the capital of Liguria, was rent by the opposing factions of Orthodox and Arians. In 374 Auxentius, the Arian archbishop, died, and a violent contest immediately arose as to the appointment of a successor. Supreme efforts were made by each party to have a bishop of its own creed appointed to the vacant see, and there was every prospect of violence and bloodshed. Ambrose, in his capacity of governor, hastened to the church where the people had assembled to vote according to usage. In an eloquent and persuasive speech he recommended the maintenance of the public peace. At the close of his address a voice called out, "Ambrose Bishop!" This was hailed by the enthusiastic crowd as the voice of destiny. The cry was instantly taken up, and resounded from church corridor to street corner. No one was so much astonished as Ambrose himself. He was in his thirty-fourth year, a lawyer by profession, only a catechumen in the faith, and had not yet received the rite of baptism. His rank, his ability and the purity of his life had raised him to high civil office;



but he had never dreamed of entering the church. He was reluctant to take upon himself the responsibilities of a spiritual office, for which the duties and habits of his former life had in no way prepared him. But the acclamations of the people were supported by a decree of the Emperor, who was delighted to find in the popular civil governor a man possessing all the qualities of a bishop. Eight days after receiving baptism at the hands of a Catholic priest, Ambrose was installed in his sacred office, and from that day Arianism, which had invaded Italy from the north, found a powerful opponent. In the meantime, however, his ordination was regarded with approval by both parties. Even Basil, the great light of Arianism in the East, in a friendly and affectionate letter, thanks God, and tells the new bishop to take courage. The two young emperors, Gratian and Valentinian, regarded him as a father, and the empress Justina, notwithstanding her attachment to Arianism, confided her troubles to him and gladly availed herself of his counsel and aid.

Having disposed of all his worldly goods in favor of the church and the poor, and having appointed Satyrus, his brother, manager of his household, Ambrose devoted himself unreservedly to the duties of his episcopate. He had received no theological training, and frankly acknowledged that he had to learn while teaching others. Part of every night was given up to reading the Scriptures and the works of the fathers. This ministry imposed on him the duties both of an ecclesiastic and a justice of the peace. He listened to complaints, gave advice, conciliated opponents in law-suits, visited the poor and the sick, performed the daily religious services, and preached the divine truths he had just studied to an eager and appreciative audience. His door was ever open, and his time entirely at the disposal of the people. As the friend and protector of the poor and needy, he spent large sums in relieving distress, and did not hesitate to melt the sacred vessels of the church for the ransom of Roman subjects who had fallen into the hands of their barbarian enemies. In addition to his other duties, he took an active part in promoting the growth of nunneries, and virgins from the remotest towns of Italy, and even from Mauritania flocked to Milan to receive the veil

at his hands. A bitter opponent of heresy himself, Ambrose nevertheless won the hearts of his religious adversaries by mild and persuasive methods, so that in a short time Arianism had practically ceased to exist in his diocese.

When the empire passed from Valentinian I. to the hands of his empress and her two sons, it became evident that Ambrose's spiritual power had made him also a political power. Gratian, who was ruling his western dominions in Gaul, having lost the confidence of his soldiers, was deserted by all and slain near Lyons by the order of the usurper Maximus, who next menaced Italy, and the lives of Justina and her son Valentinian. At this crisis the empress put herself in the hands of the archbishop, and besought him with tears to avert the threatened danger by going himself as ambassador to Maximus. Ambrose undertook the dangerous mission, and after much fruitless negotiation, and great personal sacrifice, succeeded in arresting the progress of Maximus and obtaining terms of peace.

On returning to Italy, which he had saved from war, Ambrose was exposed to the jealousy and sectarian zeal of the empress and her Arian supporters. The pagans too made a last desperate effort through Symmachus, the eloquent and accomplished prefect of Rome, to have the priesthood with its emoluments restored. The empress and the majority of the officials were in favor of the request; but Ambrose would not yield a hair's-breadth, and such was his power over young Valentinian that the petition was rejected. It was now the turn of the Arians, who employed all the resources of imperial authority and intrigue to secure the Portian Basilica for their faction as a place of worship. The contest at one time assumed such proportions that not only the peace of the city, but the safety of the empire was threatened. Armed men on both sides were ready to shed blood. The Arians might have built a church for themselves without hindrance; but their object was to extort a recognition of their faith, and place it on the same pedestal as Orthodox Christianity. The prelate would be no party to violence, but was ready to yield up his life for the sacred cause he was upholding. Ambrose took refuge in the church, where, with a weeping multitude, he was block-

aded by the imperial troops. The feeble court, unable to contend with a man so inflexible and influential, abandoned the attempt at coercion, and the prelate's victory was complete. One outcome of this contest was the institution of congregational psalmody, which Ambrose introduced to relieve the monotony of the siege.

Maximus was still menacing Italy, and Ambrose was again deputed as ambassador; but in this second mission he failed to secure guarantees of peace as formerly. The usurper quickly crossed the Alps and made himself master of Rome. Theodosius, who had succeeded Valens on the Eastern throne, now took the field, defeated Maximus and drove him to Aquileia, where he was stripped of his royal robes and beheaded by his own soldiers in 388. Valentinian, who, with his mother, had taken refuge at the Eastern court, was established in his dominions, and Theodosius was hailed as the deliverer of Italy.

Two years had scarcely elapsed when the bishop's heart was torn by the report of a fearful massacre perpetrated at Thessalonica by the orders of Theodosius. Neither senate nor magistrate dared to reproach the monarch with his fearful crime. Ambrose alone had the courage to stand forth as the defender of the rights of humanity, and show that Christianity was the safeguard of the world. After doing penance and receiving forgiveness, Theodosius returned to the East; but was again recalled in 394 as the champion of Christianity against Eugenius and Arbogastes, the Arian and Pagan leaders, by whose orders young Valentinian II. had been strangled in his Gallic dominions, near the banks of the Rhone. The hostile forces met and fought a bloody battle on the banks of the Frigidus, near Aquileia. At nightfall the Roman troops withdrew, leaving ten thousand dead upon the field. The advantage was on the side of the barbarians, and their camp was a scene of joy and festivity. Theodosius, restless and agitated, spent the night in prayer and meditation. Towards morning he dreamed a dream which presaged victory. The battle was renewed at sunrise. The Roman onset was aided by a fearful tempest from the east, which blew clouds of snow or dust in the faces of the enemy. The pagan allies were

completely routed. Paganism had received its death-blow. By the advice of Ambrose Eugenius was executed. Arbogastes, after wandering among the mountains for some days, in despair, fell by his own hand.

Theodosius survived this victory only four months. He died in the arms of Ambrose, commending to his care his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, between whom the empire was divided. After this event there are but few records of the worthy bishop's life. He died on Good Friday, April 4, 397, immediately after receiving the sacrament from the hands of Honoratus, Bishop of Vercellæ, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-third of his episcopate. Seen in his best aspects, St. Ambrose was a model Christian bishop, who, by his faith, his goodness and his self-sacrifice, became the bulwark of the empire, the church and the rights of humanity.

#### ST. AMBROSE REBUKES THEODOSIUS.

Thessalonica, the metropolis of all the Illyrian provinces, had been protected from the dangers of the Gothic war by strong fortifications and a numerous garrison. Botheric, the general of those troops, and, as it should seem from his name, a Barbarian, had among his slaves a beautiful boy, who excited the impure desires of one of the charioteers of the Circus. The insolent and brutal lover was thrown into prison by the order of Botheric; and he sternly rejected the importunate clamors of the multitude, who, on the day of the public games, lamented the absence of their favorite, and considered the skill of a charioteer as an object of more importance than his virtue. The resentment of the people was imbibed by some previous disputes; and, as the strength of the garrison had been drawn away for the service of the Italian war, the feeble remnant, whose numbers were reduced by desertion, could not save the unhappy general from their licentious fury. Botheric, and several of his principal officers, were inhumanly murdered; their mangled bodies were dragged about the streets; and the emperor, who then resided at Milan, was surprised by the intelligence of the audacious and wanton cruelty of the people of Thessalonica. The sentence of a dispassionate judge would have inflicted a severe punishment on the authors

of the crime ; and the merit of Botheric might contribute to exasperate the grief and indignation of his master. The fiery and choleric temper of Theodosius was impatient of the dilatory forms of a judicial inquiry ; and he hastily resolved that the blood of his lieutenant should be expiated by the blood of the guilty people. Yet his mind still fluctuated between the counsels of clemency and of revenge ; the zeal of the bishops had almost extorted from the reluctant emperor the promise of a general pardon ; his passion was again inflamed by the flattering suggestions of his minister Rufinus ; and after Theodosius had dispatched the messengers of death, he attempted, when it was too late, to prevent the execution of his orders.

The punishment of a Roman city was blindly committed to the undistinguishing sword of the Barbarians ; and the hostile preparations were concerted with the dark and perfidious artifice of an illegal conspiracy. The people of Thessalonica were treacherously invited, in the name of their sovereign, to the games of the Circus ; and such was their insatiate avidity for those amusements, that every consideration of fear, or suspicion, was disregarded by the numerous spectators. As soon as the assembly was complete, the soldiers, who had secretly been posted round the Circus, received the signal, not of the races, but of a general massacre. The promiscuous carnage continued three hours, without discrimination of strangers or natives, of age or sex, of innocence or guilt ; the most moderate accounts state the number of the slain at seven thousand ; and it is affirmed by some writers that more than fifteen thousand victims were sacrificed to the manes of Botheric. The apology of the assassins, that they were obliged to produce the prescribed number of heads, serves only to increase, by an appearance of order and design, the horrors of the massacre, which was executed by the commands of Theodosius. The guilt of the emperor is aggravated by his long and frequent residence at Thessalonica. The situation of the unfortunate city, the aspect of the streets and buildings, the dress and faces of the inhabitants, were familiar, and ever present, to his imagination ; and Theodosius possessed a quick and lively sense of the existence of the people whom he destroyed.



The respectful attachment of the emperor for the orthodox clergy had disposed him to love and admire the character of Ambrose, who united all the episcopal virtues in the most eminent degree. The friends and ministers of Theodosius imitated the example of their sovereign ; and he observed, with more surprise than displeasure, that all his secret counsels were immediately communicated to the archbishop, who acted from the laudable persuasion that every measure of civil government may have some connection with the glory of God, and the interest of the true religion. The monks and populace of Callinicum, an obscure town on the frontier of Persia, excited by their own fanaticism, and by that of their bishop, had tumultuously burned a conventicle of the Valentinians, and a synagogue of the Jews. The seditious prelate was condemned, by the magistrate of the province, either to rebuild the synagogue, or to repay the damage ; and this moderate sentence was confirmed by the emperor. But it was not confirmed by the archbishop of Milan. He dictated an epistle of censure and reproach, more suitable, perhaps, if the emperor had received the mark of circumcision, and renounced the faith of his baptism. Ambrose considers the toleration of the Jewish, as the persecution of the Christian, religion ; boldly declares that he himself, and every true believer, would eagerly dispute with the bishop of Callinicum the merit of the deed, and the crown of martyrdom ; and laments, in the most pathetic terms, that the execution of the sentence would be fatal to the fame and salvation of Theodosius. As this private admonition did not produce an immediate effect, the archbishop, from his pulpit, publicly addressed the emperor on his throne ; nor would he consent to offer the oblation of the altar, till he had obtained from Theodosius a solemn and positive declaration, which secured the impunity of the bishop and monks of Callinicum. The recantation of Theodosius was sincere ; and, during the term of his residence at Milan, his affection for Ambrose was continually increased by the habits of pious and familiar conversation.

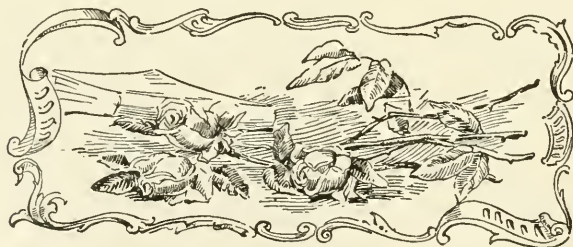
When Ambrose was informed of the massacre of Thessalonica, his mind was filled with horror and anguish. He retired into the country to indulge his grief, and to avoid the

presence of Theodosius. But as the archbishop was satisfied that a timid silence would render him the accomplice of his guilt, he represented, in a private letter, the enormity of the crime, which could only be effaced by the tears of penitence. The episcopal rigor of Ambrose was tempered by prudence; and he contented himself with signifying an indirect sort of excommunication, by the assurance that he had been warned in a vision not to offer the oblation in the name, or in the presence, of Theodosius; and by the advice that he would confine himself to the use of prayer, without presuming to approach the altar of Christ, or to receive the holy eucharist with those hands that were still polluted with the blood of an innocent people. The emperor was deeply affected by his own reproaches, and by those of his spiritual father; and after he had bewailed the mischievous and irreparable consequences of his rash fury, he proceeded, in the accustomed manner, to perform his devotions in the great church of Milan. He was stopped in the porch by the archbishop; who, in the tone and language of an ambassador of Heaven, declared to his sovereign, that private contrition was not sufficient to atone for a public fault, or to appease the justice of the offended Deity. Theodosius humbly represented, that if he had contracted the guilt of homicide, David, the man after God's own heart, had been guilty, not only of murder, but of adultery: "You have imitated David in his crime; imitate him then in his repentance," was the reply of the undaunted Ambrose.

The rigorous conditions of peace and pardon were accepted; and the public penance of the emperor Theodosius has been recorded as one of the most honorable events in the annals of the church. According to the mildest rules of ecclesiastical discipline, which were established in the fourth century, the crime of homicide was expiated by the penitence of twenty years; and as it was impossible, in the period of human life, to purge the accumulated guilt of the massacre of Thessalonica, the murderer should have been excluded from the holy communion till the hour of his death. But the archbishop, consulting the maxims of religious policy, granted some indulgence to the rank of his illustrious penitent, who humbled in the dust the pride of the diadem; and the public edification

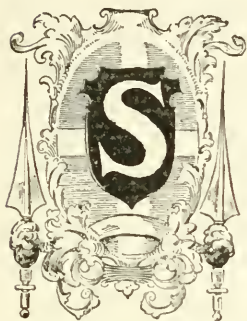
might be admitted as a weighty reason to abridge the duration of his punishment. It was sufficient that the emperor of the Romans, stripped of the ensigns of royalty, should appear in a mournful and suppliant posture; and that, in the midst of the church of Milan, he should humbly solicit, with signs and tears, the pardon of his sins. In this spiritual cure, Ambrose employed the various methods of mildness and severity. After a delay of about eight months, Theodosius was restored to the communion of the faithful; and the edict, which interposes a salutary interval of thirty days between the sentence and the execution, may be accepted as the worthy fruits of his repentance.

Posterity has applauded the virtuous firmness of the archbishop; and the example of Theodosius may prove the beneficial influence of those principles which could force a monarch, exalted above the apprehension of human punishment, to respect the laws and ministers of an invisible Judge. "The prince," says Montesquieu, "who is actuated by the hopes and fears of religion, may be compared to a lion, docile only to the voice, and tractable to the hand of his keeper." The motions of the royal animal will therefore depend on the inclination and interest of the man who has acquired such dangerous authority over him; and the priest, who holds in his hand the conscience of a king, may inflame, or moderate, his sanguinary passions. The cause of humanity, and that of persecution, have been asserted, by the same Ambrose, with equal energy and with equal success.—E. GIBBON.





## ST. AUGUSTINE.



T. AUGUSTINE, the most famous of the Latin Church Fathers, was born at Tagaste, in southern Numidia, on November 13, 354. His father, Patricius, was a pagan of violent temper and loose morality, but received the rite of baptism about a year before his death. His mother, Monica, was a

Christian of elevated mind and fervent piety, who never ceased in her endeavors to win her rough husband to a life of faith and holiness, and to counteract the evil influence he exerted upon his family. In his "Confessions" Augustine lays bare his inmost life, and with deep self-abasement tells the story of his sins and his spiritual struggles. Nothing could more clearly show the early bent of Augustine's mind than his childish habit of praying to God to avert the punishment he dreaded from his teachers for neglected lessons. The study of Greek grammar was positively distasteful to him; the multiplication table became an "odious lilt" in his ears, and everything that required close application savored to him of drudgery. Through his indolence he failed to make himself master of the Greek language, a knowledge of which would have been of the utmost service to him in his exegetical studies in after years. But, though the Greek had no attractions for him, he studied Latin authors with avidity.

His parents generously taxed their modest resources to send him to Carthage for the completion of his education. Accordingly, at seventeen years of age he went to the great African city, second only to the Roman capital in literary



distinction, and second to none as a sink of moral depravity. Here he plunged into all the dissipations of a gay city, and could well say afterwards, from abundant experience, "Forbidden pleasure is deceitful and envenomed; its hollowness disappoints, its consequences torture and deprave forever." But in spite of theatrical and other attractions, Augustine found some time for study. He was in his nineteenth year, zealously applying himself to the rules of eloquence, when he happened upon Cicero's "Hortensius." The elevated view of the worth and dignity of philosophy stirred within him higher thoughts and aspirations. But this philosophy which had awakened him was far from satisfying.

While thus groping after the truth with anxiety, he fell in with the Manichees. The constant cry of the sect, "The Truth, the Truth!" seemed to beckon him towards the goal which he so passionately longed to reach. The Manichees professed to lead pure and holy lives, the name of Jesus was continually upon their lips; but to them it was the mere adoption of a symbolic phrase. Their dual system of the kingdom of light with its æons and angels, and the kingdom of darkness with its powers of evil, appealed strongly to the young aspirant who had so keenly felt the incessant struggle of good and evil in his own soul. Their keen rationalism, their boast of illumination, their constant appeals to liberty, truth, and wisdom flattered his intellect, and led captive his imagination. For nine years Augustine adhered to the doctrines of the Manichees, but never rose above the rank of a "hearer." His experience by this time had shown him that the professors of this faith were addicted to all the vices of city life, and that their profession of temperance, sobriety and chastity was a sham.

Having finished his education at Carthage, Augustine returned to Tagaste, where for a time he earned a livelihood by teaching grammar, but on the death of a dear friend he lost all interest in his native town, threw up his appointment and went to Carthage, where he became a teacher of rhetoric. About his twenty-ninth year he listened to Faustus, the great expounder of the Manichean system, and, although he liked him personally, and was pleased with his graceful and fluent



oratory, he found him shallow in all essential points, and from that time ceased to penetrate into the mysteries of the Manichees.

Thinking that Rome presented a better field for the acquisition of fame and fortune, he removed to that capital, where he became the guest of a Manichee. He began to imbibe the more wary views of the Academicians, who taught that assent to most subjects should be kept in suspense, and that truth is in reality undiscoverable. The "eternal city" did not afford the advantages to the profession of a teacher of rhetoric which Augustine had anticipated; his prospects became clouded, when, through the favor of some of his Manichean friends, he was appointed to a professorship in Milan. This may be regarded as the turning-point in his life.

St. Ambrose, bishop of the Milanese diocese, was then in his prime, and renowned throughout Italy and Africa for his piety and his preaching. Augustine was attracted first by the prelate's eloquence, but very soon enchained by his doctrines. From Platonic books he had already formed an idea of the Divine Essence, and was now learning from St. Ambrose to love and reverence the Gospels, whose simplicity he had often hitherto regarded with contempt. At Milan his mother joined him, and his friends Alypius and Nebridius came to live with them.

Augustine was marching with rapid steps towards religion, but still faith was wanting, and the bonds of earthly attachments seemed hard to break. It was decided that he should marry, for he was living in concubinage, and a young girl was sought out with a sufficient estate. In the meantime he dismissed the faithful concubine with whom he had lived since his student days in harmony and affection, and by whom he had one son, Adeodatus. Strangely enough, his mother had no objections to this heartless arrangement, although she agonized in prayer for his conversion from the Manichees. To his great grief and shame in after years, he had become so much the slave of sensual indulgence, that he found himself compelled to form another illicit union until his future bride should be of a marriageable age.

After this, having heard from Pontitianus the story of the

hermit St. Antony, Augustine experienced an extraordinary change, and became a new man. In earlier days he prayed to God to make him pure, but there was a lack of fervency. Now the time had come for him to pour out that prayer with all his heart. Retiring one day to a secluded place, he prayed and fought out the decisive battle with his own tumultuous soul. Taking up the manuscript of St. Paul, which lay near him, he read at random: "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfill the lusts thereof." He needed to read no more; darkness and doubt had fled; the desire for earthly gain and glory had vanished forever; henceforth his life was to be devoted to religion.

In the autumn of 386, with a few friends, his mother Monica, and his son Adeodatus, "the child of his sin," he retired to Cassiciacum, a mountain villa near Lake Maggiore, where the autumn and winter were spent in devotional exercises, philosophic discussions, and occasional rustic labors. On Easter Eve, 387, Augustine was baptized by St. Ambrose. Not long after this he went with his mother Monica and some relatives to Ostia, intending to take ship for Africa; but their plans were disconcerted by the death of Monica, who was struck down by a fever, and died on the ninth day of her illness, in the fifty-seventh year of her age.

Returning to Rome, St. Augustine remained for a year, and occupied himself with the production of his two works: "On the Morals of the Manicheans," and "On the Morals of the Catholic Church." When Augustine removed to Africa he sold his paternal estate for the benefit of the poor, and with a few friends lived a secluded life as a tenant in the house which he might have occupied as an owner. Here he spent three years in study and devotion, under the walls of his native town.

From Tagaste, Augustine was called to Hippo, only a few miles distant, where he became a priest, then the colleague of the aged Bishop Valerius, and finally, in 395, his successor. His piety, his knowledge, his gentleness, and his zeal to convert heretics drew the attention of the Roman province of

Africa. The first period of his episcopate is marked by long controversies against the Manicheans, the Donatists, and the Pelagians. He had overcome the temptations of his youth, and now he felt himself called upon to combat with all his power, the love of human praise.

But the years soon began to grow dark around him. In 410 Rome was destroyed, and Alaric was ready to invade Africa, and fix at Carthage the seat of a new empire, when death ended the conqueror's career. In May, 428, Genseric, with a host of Alans, Vandals and Goths, invaded the country. The Donatists and native Mauritanians made common cause with the barbarians, and their hatred was directed against the Church. Scenes of indescribable horror followed. In most places Christian churches were reduced to ashes, the ministers put to death with torture or driven to apostasy and made slaves; many took refuge in mountain caves and perished of starvation. Bishops and clergy were no longer able to relieve the poor, being themselves reduced to indigence and beggary. Carthage, Cirta and Hippo were the only African cities capable of holding out for any length of time against the barbarians.

In June, 430, Genseric besieged Hippo by land and sea. Augustine was surrounded by numerous bishops and clergy, who had flocked hither for safety. The siege had lasted three months when he fell sick and died, August 28, 430, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his episcopate. In the following June the siege was abandoned, but the town being deserted by the inhabitants was afterwards burned to the ground by the Vandals. Carthage fell in 439, and from that date the Church was destroyed, and Northern Africa fell back into a state of desolation and barbarism from which it never recovered. Near the site of Hippo stands the modern French town of Bona, where St. Augustine is still mentioned as the Rumi Kebir or Great Roman.

#### THE MONK PELAGIUS.

Pelagius, the Briton, was an old man when he repaired to Rome. Rest, even though it came through subjection, seemed more congenial to his years than any independence involving

him in conflict. But he was young enough to resolve upon the attempt to change the views which weighed him down. In the midst of prelates and preachers maintaining the contrary at Rome, the monk from Britain upheld the power of the individual to save himself from sin and to perfect himself in virtue. "It is God's law," he solemnly asseverated, "that His rational creature should be endowed with the ability to choose the good in the freedom of will . . . . I do by no means argue," he adds, "that the nature of man is incapable of doing evil. On the contrary, I declare it to be capable both of evil and of good. All I would deny as an injustice is the doctrine that of ourselves, by our own necessities, we are impelled to evil." Wherever the idea thus expressed may have had its origin, and whatever the development to which it might henceforth attain, it was with Pelagius a declaration of independence against the whole forces of centralization.

Such the Catholic rulers doubtless regarded it. But the opposition excited against Pelagius took for its key-note the assertion that he was denying the grace of God in denying the authority of the Catholic Church. On the other hand, the assertions of Pelagius were comprehended by those as weary as himself of prostration. A few attached themselves to the daring reformer. Foremost amongst these first adherents was the monk, Cælestius, younger than his master, but all the more zealous to sustain the doctrine which opened a way to liberty. He, too, appears to have been of British origin.

Several years, however, elapsed before the number either of his adherents or of his opponents rendered the Roman residence of Pelagius untenable. In company with Cælestius he then crossed over to Africa. But, rejected at Rome, they were sure of being rejected at Carthage. Pelagius soon went on further. Cælestius, perhaps more ardent in his hopes of success, remained at Carthage. But he was soon involved in difficulties, leading to his excommunication by a Carthaginian council. After vainly endeavoring to obtain protection from the Roman bishop, Cælestius made his escape to Ephesus.

Pelagius had reached Palestine. There, in the midst of men less fearful of indulging in doctrinal speculations than

the Western Catholics, he might have had some expectation of being heard. The associations of the land befriended him. He was where the Saviour had lived and suffered. It must have seemed as if the light of the past would shine upon him as he pleaded for the liberty which Christ had assured. But close behind the fugitive there came a messenger from the great African Bishop, Augustine. The envoy, Orosius, bore the charge of stirring up the Eastern prelates against Cælestius and Pelagius.

Orosius gives an account of the council convened at Jerusalem by John, the Bishop of that city. Pelagius, on hearing himself accused on the authority of Augustine, asks, "And what has Augustine to do with me?" Orosius cannot repress his indignation. But the presiding Bishop replies, "I am here for Augustine." The charge is then adduced. "He teaches," says Orosius, "that man can live sinless and easily obey, if he will, the commandments of God." "I cannot deny," answers the accused, "that I have taught this and that I still teach it." The prosecutor grows warm. "This, then, hath been condemned by the Synod of Africa. This hath Augustine rejected. This hath Jerome confuted." Bishop John is again obliged to interfere. But it is soon announced that "messengers and letters shall be sent to the holy Innocent of Rome, pledging us to abide by his decrees." As he had already repelled Pelagius, the decision of the council at Jerusalem was equivalent to a condemnation of the reformer.

Yet there seems to have been a lurking feeling in favor of Pelagius amongst his brethren of the East. Or he may have found it possible to make concessions to them which he could not have made to the severer prelates of the West. At all events a second council, held some months later, declared Pelagius blameless. It must have been amid circumstances that stripped the declaration of all its encouragement to him.

Still graver encounters awaited him. To the head of the power which he had virtually denied, appeal had been made from the East. It was made from the West by councils held in Africa immediately after those in Palestine. Four Bishops united with Augustine in supporting the appeals by a letter to the Roman Bishop, stating that "the question was no



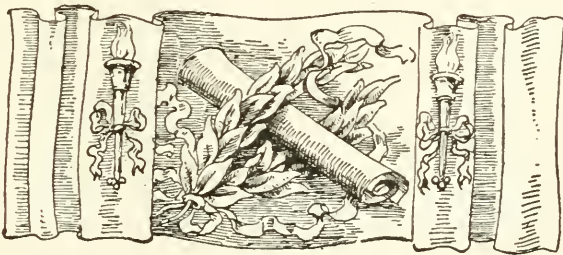
longer confined to Pelagius, but to a multitude of reformers." At the same time they presented the new charge, brought by the Catholics against the doctrine of Pelagius. "He says," wrote the African prelates, "that the nature of man is free, in order to prevent the desire of a Redeemer—that it is secure of salvation, in order to prove a Saviour superfluous." To these appeals Bishop Innocent soon issued his reply: "By the authority of our apostolic power we do adjudge Pelagius and Cælestius to be deprived of our ecclesiastical communion." It was but carrying out the determination that had long been formed and expressed at Rome.

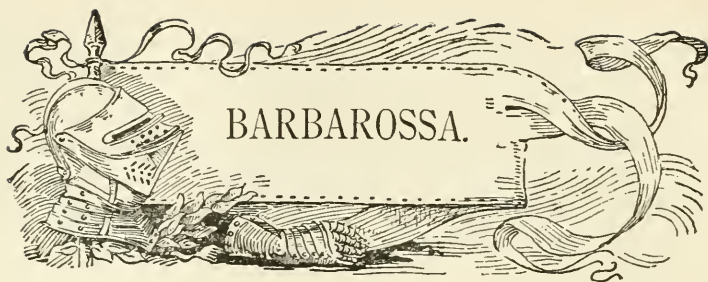
Of those supporting the Catholic power through the recent controversies, the master-spirit was Augustine. Fifteen years had passed since his ordination, when the monk from Rome landed in Africa. Up to that time the Bishop of Hippo had been engaged in the various questions agitating the African Church. All that he with his ardent passions thought serviceable to the cause espoused by him, he had employed. If it was a sentence of a council that promised success against the foe, Augustine had it passed. If it had been an edict from the imperial tribunal that he wanted, he would have availed himself of it with equal readiness. Prepared to use any means then considered lawful, trained to contention, and with a nature of itself prone to strife, Augustine stood fiery and resolved upon the soil which Pelagius sought in flight.

The fugitive had no chance with the prelate. At first in sermons, then in letters and in lengthy treatises, in public bodies and in private deliberations, the purpose of Augustine to uphold the Catholic power assumed its full proportions. To defend this was to defend the power on which the doubting visionary and the uncontrolled debauchee—Augustine himself—had relied for conversion. To defend the Catholic doctrine against that which Pelagius urged, was still more natural with Augustine. He who had been so polluted, so sinful in his early years, could not but believe in the dependence of the individual on human grace as well as on that which was Divine. Not even on the Church alone had Augustine depended. He had leaned upon his mother before he learned to lean upon the Church. Could he bear with the

plea of Pelagius, that every man had his inherent capability of being virtuous? It might be arguing the right of every one to liberty. But it was against all the experience of Augustine.

But if Augustine combated for authority, he could also combat for liberty. He had a spirit in which progressive as well as conservative elements were perpetually at work. To turn against the assailants of the Catholic power was hardly more frequent with him than to lead its supporters out from its narrow boundaries. "This is liberty," he wrote, "when we are subject to truth." He would have had the Catholic power prove itself true by its influence upon men. "When we have an army," he writes, "such as Christ's law requires; when we have subjects, husbands, wives, parents, sons, masters, slaves, kings, judges, tax-payers, tax-gatherers, such as Christ's law demands, then none can doubt the blessings wrought by our Christianity." No one could have expressed clearer views of the laws by which nations and ages advanced in a continual progress under an eternal Providence. "I determined to write it," says Augustine in reference to his great work, "The City of God," "against the blasphemies ascribing the irruption of Alaric and the overthrow of Rome to the Christian religion. . . . The first books refute the opinion that human affairs were so prosperous of old as to have met with their present reversions in consequence of our having abjured the heathen deities. . . . Then I go on to describe the origin, the rise, and the appointed end of the two cities, whereof the one is of God and the other is of this world." How vividly he depicts the doom of the latter, how heartfully he foretells the glory of the former, must be seen in his own pages.—S. ELIOT.





FREDERIC I., who was called *Barbarossa*, or *Red-Beard*, by the Italians, was one of the grandest figures of the Middle Ages, and one of the greatest of German sovereigns. He was the son of Frederic, the One-eyed, of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia, and of Judith, daughter of Henry the Black, Duke of Bavaria, and thus united in

himself the blood of the great rival families, the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. He was born in 1123 (or perhaps a year earlier), and succeeded his father in the dukedom of Swabia in 1147. He soon accompanied his uncle, Emperor Conrad III., in the disastrous Second Crusade.

Conrad, when dying, showed his recognition of Frederic's great abilities by nominating him as his successor, and this choice was unanimously ratified in the assembly at Frankfort. Frederic was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 9th of March, 1152. He is said to have taken Charlemagne as his model; but the times were far different, and while he was successful in confirming the strength and unity of the empire in Germany, he was not able to subdue completely the turbulent Italian republics. It was to this task he devoted most of his energies, first leading his army against Milan in 1154. He received the iron crown of Lombardy, and marched to Rome, where he was crowned by the pope as Holy Roman Emperor on the 18th of June, 1155. Pestilence in the army compelled

him to return to Germany before he had accomplished his purposes.

The troubled state of Germany gave him abundant occupation. He put down the robber-barons; reconciled Henry the Lion by restoring the duchy of Bavaria; raised Austria to the rank of a duchy. Having divorced his first wife Adelaide, he married Beatrice, daughter of the Count of Burgundy, and thus obtained the homage of the Burgundian nobles. He compelled the rulers of Poland and Bohemia to swear fealty as vassals, and raised the latter to the rank of king for faithful services. Part of Franconia, under the name of the Palatinate, he gave to his half-brother Conrad.

After three years thus spent in restoring order and reorganizing Germany, Frederic returned to his unfinished task in Italy, and especially Lombardy. Here the prosperous cities were desirous of managing their own affairs; they had thrown off the rule of bishops and counts, and the principal had formed a league with Milan as its head. Frederic aimed to quell the pride of Milan. With an army of 100,000 foot and 15,000 horse he laid siege to it, and after a month of furious assaults, it was compelled to surrender from want of provisions. Frederic wished to restore the imperial power as it existed in the days of Charlemagne. At a great assembly held in the Roncalian Fields the prerogatives of the emperor were defined; he was proclaimed to be "Lord of the world." In every city a chief magistrate, called Podesta, was to be appointed to represent his authority.

On the death of Pope Adrian IV., in 1159, the emperor gave his support to Victor IV. as his successor; but the courageous Alexander III. did not hesitate to excommunicate the emperor. Proud Milan now rose in rebellion; but after a siege of two years surrendered, and was by imperial order demolished. But the other cities of Lombardy formed a league and expelled their podestas. On the death of Victor IV., Frederic promoted the election of a new anti-pope, Pascal III. He was then in Germany and did not return to Italy until 1166, when he marched on Rome and attacked and captured the Vatican, while Alexander took refuge in the Colosseum. On the following Sunday, August 1, 1167, the empress was



crowned in St. Peter's by the pope, and Frederic received the circlet of gold which was the token of patrician dignity.

But Milan rose from its ashes as by an enchanter's wand, and the formidable league of the Lombard cities renewed their hostilities. Frederic proposed that the rival popes should both resign and a new one be elected ; but Alexander hastily left the city. Suddenly the whole German army was smitten with pestilence, and Frederic was compelled to lead the terror-stricken survivors to Pavia, and thence, almost unattended, to flee to Germany. Seven years passed before he ventured to return ; but finally, in October, 1174, he set out on his last expedition. After some victories and an unsuccessful attempt at a truce, he met a crushing defeat at Lignano, in which for a time he was believed to have been slain. He was compelled to acknowledge the papal rights of Alexander III., and to conclude a truce of six years with the confederated cities of Lombardy. Frederic then returned to take vengeance on Henry the Lion, who had rebelled, and having vanquished him, banished him to England. Frederic's rule in Italy was henceforth more conciliatory. He allowed home rule, but required acknowledgment of the supremacy of the empire. Even the Milanese, who had suffered so severely at his hands, became attached to his cause.

Having thus effected peace and harmony throughout his dominions, the veteran warrior was startled to learn of the victorious progress of Saladin against the Christians in Syria. His youthful crusading spirit was revived, and he resolved to march to the rescue of Jerusalem from the Infidels. He landed in Asia Minor, and there won two victories over the Moslems ; but his grand projects suddenly came to naught. He was drowned while crossing a small river on the 10th of June, 1190.

Frederic Barbarossa was an ideal sovereign of the days of chivalry. In him were seen great manly beauty, pleasing manners, an indomitable courage and untiring energy ; all the qualities which at that time won the admiration of men. He was fully persuaded that he was appointed by divine right to be the Cæsar, the temporal lord of the world, as the pope was to be the spiritual head of mankind. His



great dispute with the papacy was inherited from his predecessors, and is the same which has marked successive ages down to the present. It is essentially involved in the impossibility of the world serving two masters. Frederic's wars with the cities of northern Italy were justifiable, and even unavoidable, from his view of their relation to himself; but in the early years of his reign he sought rather to treat them as conquered aliens than as rebellious subjects. Finally, when he was compelled to acknowledge their strength, he made atonement for earlier harshness by granting them such liberty as they desired. The great force of the crusading spirit of that age is nowhere shown more vividly than in its sweeping the aged emperor from his duties as sovereign of the German and Roman empire to risk his life in the parched plains of Asia Minor, and to meet his death in its chill waters.

#### BARBAROSSA, THE MEDÆVAL CÆSAR.

Even before Gregory VII.'s time it might have been predicted that two such potentates as the emperor and the pope, closely bound together, yet each with pretensions wide and undefined, must ere long come into collision. The boldness of that great pontiff in enforcing, the unflinching firmness of his successors in maintaining, the supremacy of clerical authority, inspired their supporters with a zeal and courage which more than compensated the advantages of the emperor in defending rights he had long enjoyed. On both sides the hatred was soon very bitter. But even had men's passions permitted a reconciliation, it would have been found difficult to bring into harmony adverse principles, each irresistible, mutually destructive. As the spiritual power, in itself purer, since exercised over the soul and directed to the highest of all ends, eternal felicity, was entitled to the obedience of all, laymen as well as clergy, so the spiritual person, to whom, according to the view then universally accepted, there had been imparted by ordination a mysterious sanctity, could not without sin be subject to the lay magistrate, be installed by him in office, be judged in his court, and render to him any compulsory service. Yet it was no less true that civil government was indispensable to the peace and advancement of society;

and while it continued to subsist, another jurisdiction could not be suffered to interfere with its workings, nor one-half of the people be altogether removed from its control. Thus the emperor and the pope were forced into hostility as champions of opposite systems, however fully each might admit the strength of his adversary's position, however bitterly he might bewail the violence of his own partisans. There had also arisen other causes of quarrel, less respectable, but not less dangerous. The pontiff demanded, and the monarch refused, the lands which the Countess Matilda of Tuscany had bequeathed to the Holy See; Frederic claiming them as feudal suzerain, the pope eager by their means to carry out those schemes of temporal dominion which Constantine's donation sanctioned, and Lothar's seeming renunciation of the sovereignty of Rome had done much to encourage. As feudal superior of the Norman kings of Naples and Sicily, as protector of the towns and barons of North Italy who feared the German yoke, the successor of Peter wore already the air of an independent potentate.

No man was less likely than Frederic to submit to these encroachments. He was a sort of imperialist Hildebrand, strenuously proclaiming the immediate dependence of his office on God's gift, and holding it every whit as sacred as his rival's. On his first journey to Rome he refused to hold the pope's stirrup, as Lothar had done, till Pope Hadrian the Fourth's threat that he would withhold the crown enforced compliance. Complaints arising not long after on some other ground, the pope exhorted Frederic by letter to show himself worthy of the kindness of his mother, the Roman Church, who had given him the imperial crown, and would confer on him, if dutiful, benefits still greater. This word "benefits"—*beneficia*—understood in its usual legal sense of "fief," and taken in connection with the picture which had been set up at Rome to commemorate Lothar's homage, provoked angry shouts from the nobles assembled in diet at Besançon; and when the legate answered, "From whom then, if not from our Lord the Pope, does your king hold the empire?" his life was not safe from their fury. On this occasion Frederic's vigor and the remonstrances of the Transalpine prelates obliged Hadrian

to explain away the obnoxious word and remove the picture. Soon after the quarrel was renewed by other causes, and came to centre itself round the pope's demand that Rome should be left entirely to his government. Frederic, in reply, appeals to the civil law, and closes with the words: "Since by the ordination of God I both am called and am Emperor of the Romans, in nothing but name shall I appear to be ruler, if the control of the Roman city be wrested from my hands." That such a claim should need assertion marks the change since Henry III.; how much more that it could not be enforced! Hadrian's tone rises into defiance; he mingles the threat of excommunication with references to the time when the Germans had not yet the empire: "What were the Franks till Zacharias welcomed Pipin? What is the Teutonic king now till consecrated at Rome by holy hands? The chair of Peter has given and can withdraw its gifts."

The schism that followed Hadrian's death produced a second and most momentous conflict. Frederic, as head of Christendom, proposed to summon the bishops of Europe to a general council, over which he should preside, like Justinian or Heraclius. Quoting the favorite text of the two swords, "On earth," he continues, "God has placed no more than two powers: above there is but one God, so here one pope and one emperor. The Divine Providence has specially appointed the Roman Empire as a remedy against continued schism." The plan failed, and Frederic adopted the candidate whom his own faction had chosen, while the rival claimant, Alexander III., appealed, with a confidence which the issue justified, to the support of sound churchmen throughout Europe. The keen and long-doubtful strife of twenty years that followed, while apparently a dispute between rival popes, was in substance an effort by the secular monarch to recover his command of the priesthood; not less truly so than that contemporaneous conflict of the English Henry II. and St. Thomas of Canterbury, with which it was constantly involved. Unsupported, not all Alexander's genius and resolution could have saved him. By the aid of the Lombard cities, whose league he had counselled and hallowed, and of the fevers of Rome, by which the conquering German host was

suddenly annihilated, he won a triumph the more signal, that it was over a prince so wise and so pious as Frederic. At Venice, which, inaccessible by her position, maintained a sedulous neutrality, claiming to be independent of the empire, yet seldom led into war by sympathy with the popes, the two powers whose strife had roused all Europe were induced to meet by the mediation of the Doge Sebastian Ziani. Three slabs of red marble in the porch of St. Mark's point out the spot where Frederic knelt in sudden awe, and the pope, with tears of joy, raised him and gave the kiss of peace. A later legend, to which poetry and painting have given an undeserved currency, tells how the pontiff set his foot on the neck of the prostrate king, with the words, "The young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet." It needed not this exaggeration to enhance the significance of that scene, even more full of meaning for the future than it was solemn and affecting to the Venetian crowd that thronged the church and the piazza. For it was the renunciation by the mightiest prince of his time of the project to which his life had been devoted; it was the abandonment by the secular power of a contest in which it had twice been vanquished, and which it could not renew under more favorable conditions.

Authority maintained so long against the successor of Peter would be far from indulgent to rebellious subjects. For it was in this light that the Lombard cities appeared to a monarch bent on reviving all the rights his predecessors had enjoyed; nay, all that the law of ancient Rome gave her absolute ruler. The teachers of the canon law, who had not as yet become the rivals of the civilian, and were accustomed to recur to his books where their own were silent, spread through Europe the fame and influence of the Roman jurisprudence; while its own professors were led both by their feeling and their interest to give to all its maxims the greatest weight and the fullest application. Men just emerging from barbarism, with minds unaccustomed to create, and blindly submissive to authority, viewed written texts with an awe to us incomprehensible. All that the most servile jurists of Rome had ever ascribed to their despotic princes was directly transferred to the Cæsarean majesty who inherited their name.

He was "Lord of the world," absolute master of the lives and property of all his subjects—that is, of all men; the sole fountain of legislation; the embodiment of right and justice. These doctrines, which the great Bolognese jurists, Bulgarus, Martinus, Hugolinus, and others who constantly surrounded Frederic, taught and applied, as matter of course, to a Teutonic, a feudal king, were by the rest of the world not denied, were accepted in fervent faith by his German and Italian partisans. "To the emperor belongs the protection of the whole world," says Bishop Otto of Freysing. "The emperor is a living law upon earth." To Frederic, at Roncaglia, the Archbishop of Milan speaks for the assembled magnates of Lombardy: "Do and ordain whatsoever thou wilt, thy will is law; as it is written: '*Quicquid principi placuit legis habet vigorem, cum populus ei et in eum omne suum imperium et potestatem concesserit.*'" The Hohenstaufen himself was not slow to accept these magnificent ascriptions of dignity, and though modestly professing his wish to govern according to law, rather than override the law, was doubtless roused by them to a more vehement assertion of a prerogative so hallowed by age and by what seemed a Divine ordinance.

That assertion was more loudly called for in Italy. The emperors might appear to consider it a conquered country without privileges to be respected, for they did not summon its princes to the German diets, and overawed its own assemblies at Pavia or Roncaglia by the Transalpine host that followed them. Its crown, too, was theirs whenever they crossed the Alps to claim it, while the elections on the banks of the Rhine might be adorned, but could not be influenced, by the presence of barons from the southern kingdom. In practice, however, the imperial power stood lower in Italy than in Germany, for it had been from the first intermittent, depending on the personal vigor and present armed support of each invader. The theoretic sovereignty of the emperor-king was in nowise disputed: in the cities toll and tax were of right his; he could issue edicts at the Diet, and require the tenants-in-chief to appear with their vassals. But the revival of a control never exercised since Henry IV.'s time was felt



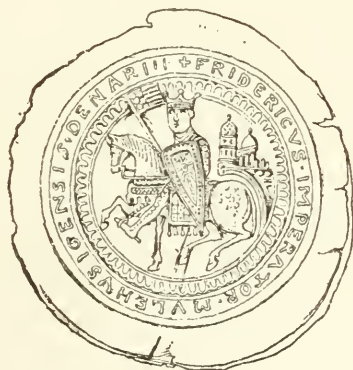
as an intolerable hardship by the great Lombard cities, proud of riches and population equal to that of the duchies of Germany, or the kingdoms of the North, and accustomed for more than a century to a turbulent independence.

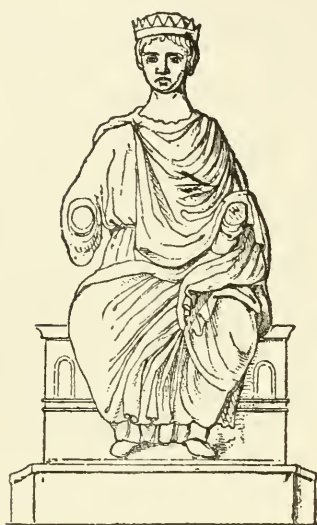
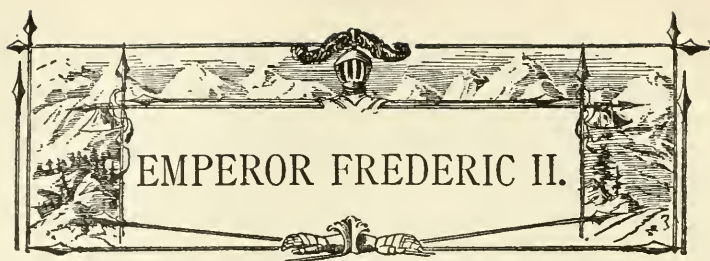
For republicanism and popular freedom Frederic had little sympathy. At Rome, the fervent Arnold of Brescia had repeated, but with far different thoughts and hopes, the part of Crescentius. The city had thrown off the yoke of its bishop, and a commonwealth under consuls and senate professed to emulate the spirit while it renewed the forms of the primitive republic. Its leaders had written to Conrad III., asking him to help them to restore the empire to its position under Constantine and Justinian; but the German, warned by St. Bernard, had preferred the friendship of the pope. Filled with a vain conceit of their own importance, they repeated their offers to Frederic, when he sought the crown from Hadrian the Fourth. A deputation, after dwelling in high-flown language on the dignity of the Roman people, and their kindness in bestowing the sceptre on him, a Swabian and a stranger, proceeded in a manner hardly consistent, to demand a largess ere he should enter the city. Frederic's anger did not hear them to the end: "Is this your Roman wisdom? Who are ye that usurp the name of Roman dignities? Your honors and your authority are yours no longer; with us are consuls, senate, soldiers. It was not you who chose us, but Charles and Otto that rescued you from the Greek and the Lombard, and conquered by their own might the imperial crown. That Frankish might is still the same: wrench, if you can, the club from Hercules. It is not for the people to give laws to the prince, but to obey his command." This was Frederic's version of the "Translation of the Empire."

He who had been so stern to his own capital was not likely to deal more gently with the rebels of Milan and Tortona. In the contest by which Frederic is chiefly known to history, he is commonly painted as the foreign tyrant, the forerunner of the Austrian oppressor, crushing under the hoofs of his cavalry the home of freedom and industry. Such a view is unjust to a great man and his cause. To the despot

liberty is always license; yet Frederic was the advocate of admitted claims; the aggressions of Milan threatened her neighbors; the refusal, where no actual oppression was alleged, to admit his officers and allow his regalian rights, seemed a wanton breach of oaths and engagements, treason against God no less than himself. Nevertheless our sympathy must go with the cities, in whose victory we recognize the triumph of freedom and civilization.

As the emperor's antagonist, the pope was their natural ally: he blessed their arms, and called on the barons of Romagna and Tuscany for aid; he made "The Church" ere long their watchword, and helped them to conclude their league of mutual support, by means whereof the party of the Italian Guelfs was formed. Another cry, too, began to be heard, hardly less inspiring than the last, the cry of freedom and municipal self-government—freedom little understood and terribly abused—self-government which the cities who claimed it for themselves refused to their subject allies, yet both of them, through their divine power of stimulating effort and quickening sympathy, as much nobler than the harsh and sterile system of a feudal monarchy as the citizen of republican Athens rose above the slavish Asiatic or the brutal Macedonian.—J. BRYCE.





THE Emperor Frederic II. was one of the most famous crusaders, but is still more noted for his wars with successive popes. By his extraordinary natural gifts and his remarkable accomplishments he obtained the surname of the Wonder of the World.

He was born in 1194, being the son of the Emperor Henry VI., by Constance, of Sicily. While still in his cradle he was created King of the Romans, but the premature death of his father prevented his immediate succession. In the dispute

which ensued Pope Innocent III. claimed the right to decide between the rival claimants, and gave the preference to Otho IV. Frederic, trained by his mother, became extraordinarily learned for the age, having acquired the Greek, Latin, German, French and Saracenic languages. When the Emperor Otho was excommunicated by the pope, for non-fulfillment of his pledges, young Frederic, by a partial election, was declared emperor in December, 1210. After some years of contest he came into peaceable possession of the Imperial throne by the retreat and subsequent death of Otho. After being crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1215, he proceeded to Rome, to receive, according to custom, the crown from the hands of Pope Honorius III. At his corona-

tion he swore to defend the possessions of the Holy See, and also to cross over into Asia with an army of crusaders at the requisition of the pope.

At once marching into Naples, where the brothers of the late Pope Innocent had excited a revolt, Frederic reduced the country to his obedience. Then, carrying his troops into Sicily, he obliged the rebellious Saracens in that island to surrender, and transported them to the continent. The papal claims of sovereignty over the kingdom of Naples soon involved Frederic in a dispute with the court of Rome, which brought upon him ecclesiastical censures. The difference, however, was accommodated; and the emperor, as an earnest of his sincere intentions of going in person to the Holy Land, according to promise, engaged, upon the death of his wife Constance, to marry the daughter of John de Brienne, king of Jerusalem. A renewal of the confederacy of the Lombard towns against the imperial authority occupied him some time. He held an assembly at Cremona in 1226, and marched to Milan, but was not able to obtain admission. A treaty in 1227, mediated by the pope, produced a temporary cessation of these disturbances.

Gregory IX., who now succeeded to the papacy, urged Frederic with so much importunity to undertake his crusade that at length he set sail from Brundisium (Brindisi), but through real or pretended illness put back in a few days. The pope was so much incensed at this proceeding that he thundered forth a sentence of excommunication against the emperor, who, in revenge, ravaged the lands of the church and persecuted all ecclesiastics who adhered to the papal cause. He also incited the Frangipani and other Roman nobility to commit hostilities against Gregory, who was at length obliged to seek refuge in Perugia. The conflicts of the parties of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, which had lain dormant from the time of Conrad III., revived with great animosity in the Italian towns. In 1228 Frederic embarked in earnest for the Holy Land, leaving the Duke of Spoleto as his lieutenant in Italy. On the pope's refusal to come to an agreement, his territories were ravaged by an army of Germans and Saracens. Frederic's vigor as a soldier, and still

more his tact in conciliating the Saracens, enabled him to get possession of Jerusalem. But the pope's indignation pursued him even thither ; no bishop would crown an excommunicated person, and Frederic had to put the crown on his own head. At the pope's suggestions the grand masters of the military orders refused to obey Frederic as commander-in-chief. He therefore found himself compelled to make a ten years' truce with Meledin, Sultan of Egypt, on condition that the Christians should retain Jerusalem, Nazareth and a strip along the coast of Sidon. It may be noted here that in 1244 Jerusalem was finally lost to the Christians. After Frederic's return to Italy, in 1229, his treaty was disavowed by the pope, who persisted in enmity to him, and endeavored to procure the election of a new emperor.

A reconciliation was, however, effected between the great rivals, Frederic and Gregory IX., in 1230, after which the former employed himself in reorganizing the empire, and in attempting to reduce the revolted cities in Lombardy. In the mean time a conspiracy, formed by his son Henry, now king of the Romans, obliged him to visit Germany. He held a Diet at Mentz, in which his son was convicted of rebellion, and was, in consequence, sent to Sicily. Frederic, having composed the German disturbances, returned to Italy, and, finding his son engaged in a new conspiracy, imprisoned him in a castle of Apulia, where he shortly afterwards died. Frederic then invaded the domains of the Duke of Austria, his son's accomplice, took Vienna, and having procured the election of his son Conrad as king of the Romans, returned with a powerful army to Italy. He obtained a considerable victory over the Lombard League, and treated the vanquished with great severity. His power was now so formidable that the pope openly took part against him, and renewed his excommunication. A furious war succeeded, which spread throughout Italy, almost every town being ravaged alternately by two hostile factions. Gregory at length died ; but Innocent IV., who succeeded, after a considerable vacancy, continued the quarrel, and, after fleeing to Lyons, excommunicated the emperor in 1247. Troubles were excited against him in Germany, where the pope's party elected Henry



Raspe, landgrave of Thuringia, as the new king of the Romans. An attempt was also made to poison the emperor, but was rendered abortive by timely discovery.

Frederic's continued effort to retain Naples and Sicily, which had for two centuries been recognized as possessions of the Holy See, had kept him at variance with successive popes and occupied all his energies to the weakening of his legitimate power. Finally his obstinacy in pursuing the siege of Parma was the occasion of a total defeat of his army in 1248, which caused his party to be almost entirely deserted in the north of Italy, and brought his affairs into great disorder. He retired into the kingdom of Naples, where he died at Fiorenzuola in 1250, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. Some historians affirm that he was smothered with a pillow by his natural son, Mainfroy. Frederic had married six wives, the last of whom was a daughter of John, king of England.

Frederic II. was distinguished by many splendid qualities, yet tarnished by unscrupulous ambition, violence, and an inordinate attachment to the fair sex. He is styled by an eminent historian: "The gay, the brave, the wise, the relentless and the godless Frederic." He had but little reverence for ecclesiastical authority, and was disposed to be the more tolerant to heresy and religious dissent than the spirit of his times allowed. He was the first of the German emperors to exhibit an Italian love of art and beauty, combined with the energy and valor previously characteristic of the line. These new traits are justly ascribed to his mother's influence. His court, wherever he sojourned, exhibited an almost oriental luxury and splendor, and added the attractions of poetry and song. He was also a liberal patron of learning, founded several schools, and caused the works of Aristotle and other ancient authors to be translated from the Greek and Arabic into Latin. He himself composed poems and some other works, and appears to have been imbued with a thoroughly modern spirit.

"With Frederic," says Bryce, "fell the Empire. From the ruin that overwhelmed the greatest of its houses it emerged, living indeed, and destined to a long life, but so

shattered, crippled, and degraded, that it could never more be to Europe and to Germany what it once had been. In the last act of the tragedy were joined the enemy who had now blighted its strength and the rival who was destined to insult its weakness and at last blot out its name. The murder of Frederic's grandson Couradin—a hero whose youth and whose chivalry might have moved the pity of any other foe—was approved, if not suggested, by Pope Clement; it was done by the minions of Charles of France."

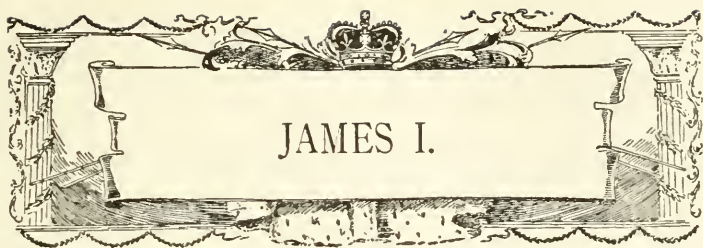
#### THE UNBELIEVING CRUSADER.

Frederic the Second, the grandson of Barbarossa, was successively the pupil, the enemy, and the victim of the church. At the age of twenty-one years, and in obedience to his guardian, Innocent the Third, he assumed the cross; the same promise was repeated at his royal and imperial coronations; and his marriage with the heiress of Jerusalem forever bound him to defend the kingdom of his son Conrad. But as Frederic advanced in age and authority, he repented of the rash engagements of his youth; his liberal sense and knowledge taught him to despise the phantoms of superstition and the crowns of Asia; he no longer entertained the same reverence for the successors of Innocent; and his ambition was occupied by the restoration of the Italian monarchy from Sicily to the Alps. But the success of this project would have reduced the popes to their primitive simplicity; and, after the delays and excuses of twelve years, they urged the emperor, with entreaties and threats, to fix the time and place of his departure for Palestine. In the harbors of Sicily and Apulia, he prepared a fleet of one hundred galleys, and of one hundred vessels, that were framed to transport and land two thousand five hundred knights, with their horses and attendants; his vassals of Naples and Germany formed a powerful army; and the number of English crusaders was magnified to sixty thousand by the report of fame. But the inevitable or affected slowness of these mighty preparations consumed the strength and provisions of the more indigent pilgrims; the multitude was thinned by sickness and desertion; and the sultry summer of Calabria anticipated the mischiefs of a

Syrian campaign. At length the emperor hoisted sail at Brundisium, with a fleet and an army of forty thousand men ; but he kept the sea no more than three days ; and his hasty retreat, which was ascribed by his friends to a grievous indisposition, was accused by his enemies as a voluntary and obstinate disobedience. For suspending his vow Frederic was excommunicated by Gregory the Ninth ; for presuming, the next year, to accomplish his vow, he was again excommunicated by the same pope. While he served under the banner of the cross, a crusade was preached against him in Italy ; and after his return he was compelled to ask pardon for the injuries which he had suffered. The clergy and military orders of Palestine were previously instructed to renounce his communion and dispute his commands ; and in his own kingdom, the emperor was forced to consent that the orders of the camp should be issued in the name of God and of the Christian republic. Frederic entered Jerusalem in triumph ; and with his own hands (for no priest would perform the office) he took the crown from the altar of the holy sepulchre. But the patriarch cast an interdict on the church which his presence had profaned ; and the knights of the hospital and temple informed the sultan how easily he might be surprised and slain in his unguarded visit to the River Jordan. In such a state of fanaticism and faction, victory was hopeless, and defence was difficult ; but the conclusion of an advantageous peace may be imputed to the discord of the Mahometans, and their personal esteem for the character of Frederic. The enemy of the church is accused of maintaining with the miscreants an intercourse of hospitality and friendship unworthy of a Christian ; of despising the barrenness of the land ; and of indulging a profane thought, that if Jehovah had seen the kingdom of Naples he never would have selected Palestine for the inheritance of his chosen people. Yet Frederic obtained from the sultan the restitution of Jerusalem, of Bethlehem and Nazareth, of Tyre and Sidon ; the Latins were allowed to inhabit and fortify the city ; an equal code of civil and religious freedom was ratified for the sectaries of Jesus and those of Mahomet ; and, while the former worshiped at the holy sepulchre, the latter might pray and preach in the

mosque of the temple, from whence the prophet undertook his nocturnal journey to heaven. The clergy deplored the scandalous toleration; and the weaker Moslems were gradually expelled; but every rational object of the crusades was accomplished without bloodshed; the churches were restored, the monasteries were replenished; and, in the space of fifteen years, the Latins of Jerusalem exceeded the number of six thousand. This peace and prosperity, for which they were ungrateful to their benefactor, was terminated by the irruption of the strange and savage hordes of Carizmians. Flying from the arms of the Moguls, those shepherds of the Caspians rolled headlong on Syria; and the union of the Franks with the sultans of Aleppo, Herus, and Damascus, was insufficient to stem the violence of the torrent. Whatever stood against them was cut off by the sword, or dragged into captivity; the military orders were almost exterminated in a single battle; and in the pillage of the city, in the profanation of the holy sepulchre, the Latins confess and regret the modesty and discipline of the Turks and Saracens.—E. GIBBON.





JAMES I., of England, and VI., of Scotland, was the only son of Mary, Queen of Scots, by her second husband, Darnley, who was the grandson of Margaret Tudor, through whom the Scottish line claimed the succession to the English crown. "Solomon the Second," as he was called by his obsequious courtiers, or the "wisest fool in Christendom," as he was styled by Henry IV., of France, was withal a man of shrewd parts and consid-

erable learning; but he was mean, vulgar and undignified, and never really understood his English subjects. His overweening conceit in his own wisdom, and his fixed idea that he ruled by "divine right," and was responsible to no earthly power, led to those incessant disputes with the Commons which culminated so tragically in the reign of his son, Charles I.

The first act of James's reign was to put an end to the Spanish War; but the most important question he had to decide, was one of religious toleration. A memorable conference was held at Hampton Court in 1604, at which four Puritan ministers, the king, some twenty bishops and a large number of courtiers were present. Everything was quietly discussed till some one mentioned the word "presbytery;" then the king lost his temper and treated the conference to an animated specimen of royal logic, the burden of which was:



"No bishop, no king." He needed the bishops to prevent the clergy from gaining ascendancy over the crown. After hearing the royal speech, Bancroft, bishop of London, blessed God on his knees for having sent them such a monarch. The Puritans were flatly told to conform or leave the church. This Hampton Court Conference led the king to order a revised translation of the Bible to be made. This Authorized Version, published in 1611, and still in common use, has, by its power and beautiful diction, contributed more than any other work to the formation and maintenance of the English language in its strength and simplicity.

When Parliament met in the following March, there was a large sprinkling of Puritan members who showed their dissatisfaction with the king's late decision; the king also showed his dissatisfaction with the members for their opposition to his scheme of a union with Scotland; the session closed with a quarrel between king and Commons. Before the end of that year, some three hundred of the clergy who refused to conform were deprived of their livings.

Severer laws were also passed against the Roman Catholics; some of the priests were banished, and a sum of £20 a month was levied on "recusants," that is, Catholics who refused to attend the Church of England services. Such severe measures led to the conception of the deep-laid plot of the "Gunpowder Treason," which was attended with many romantic and dramatic incidents. Both Puritans and Catholics had looked to James for toleration; but he hated Puritans; they were too much like the Presbyterians who had given him trouble in Scotland; and then both Puritans and Presbyterians combined their influence in urging measures against the Catholics.

Parliament met again in 1606, and James, as before, brought up his scheme of union with Scotland, and even proposed free trade between the countries. Again he was thwarted in his design, but succeeded in obtaining a decision from the judges by which his Scotch subjects born after his accession to the English throne could become naturalized and hold land in England.

To this reign belongs the first successful attempt to colonize Virginia. Raleigh had sent out colonists as early as

1585; but they either returned to their native shores to escape starvation, or fell under the tomahawks of the Indians in their new home. About 1607 other colonists were sent out, and after undergoing unspeakable hardships, at length founded the prosperous tobacco-planting colony of Virginia. (See Vol. III., p. 288.) Another charter had been granted to the Plymouth Company for the colonization of North Virginia, a name afterwards changed by Captain John Smith to New England. The founders of this northern colony, later known as Massachusetts, were the hundred Pilgrims who landed from the "Mayflower" in 1620. They consisted of a number of Nottinghamshire Puritans, who, feeling themselves grievously oppressed in England, and seeing no chance of ever being allowed to meet and worship in their own way, determined to leave the country altogether. At first they settled in Holland; but after twelve years, fearing that their children might lose their nationality by intermarriage with the Dutch, they again set sail across the Atlantic for a new home, and with the Bible for their law and brotherhood for their charter, paved the way for those who came after to create the great American nation. (See Vol. II., p. 340.)

It was not in matters of religion only that the king and the Commons could not agree. James, like so many of his predecessors, made favorites of men whom the people could not respect, worthless in themselves, and owing whatever doubtful importance they had to their position near the king. Lawyers and ministers had to bribe their way through them to high offices. Chief-Justice Montague had to pay £20,000 for his office. Scotch favorites had the ascendancy, much to the disgust of English aspirants. George Hume, Earl of Dunbar; Philip, Earl of Montgomery and Pembroke; James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, had all in succession been court minions. Next to these came Robert Carr, a handsome young Scotchman, who quickly succeeded to the titles of Viscount Rochester and Earl of Somerset. After Somerset's ignominious downfall, George Villiers, more splendid than any of his predecessors, succeeded to the unenviable notoriety of court favorite, and the title of the Duke of Buckingham. This last maintained to the end his ascendancy over the king, and exerted

a still stronger influence over young Charles, the heir-apparent to the throne.

Amongst such favorites as these James distributed lands and money with a lavish hand. He knew nothing about economy in his domestic affairs, and was always in financial embarrassment. Hence he found himself reduced to various unworthy and unconstitutional methods of raising money. A merchant named Bate, on one occasion challenged his right to levy an imposition on currants, which had already been taxed by Elizabeth. The Court of Exchequer, however, which was the constitutional exponent of the law, held that the king had the right by his own sovereign authority to levy such duties, and Cecil, the Lord Treasurer, at once levied new impositions to the amount of £700,000 a year, on the plea that more money was required on account of the troubles in Ireland. It is worthy of notice that James's high-handed policy in Irish affairs was the means of sowing the seeds of disaffection and dissensions which have borne a most plentiful crop of thorns for all his successors, and raised questions of state policy which have not yet found their solution. His idea was to gain the good-will of the tribes by promising them protection against the power of the tribal chiefs. But the tribes had little confidence in his promises; and the chiefs resented the interference. The Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, the chiefs of the Ulster tribes, rose in rebellion, and at first showed a stout front of resistance, but were obliged to take refuge in Spain. James confiscated six counties as if they had been held by the chiefs according to the English law of feudal tenure, and peopled them with Scotch and English colonists.

James was a sincere lover of peace, and was anxious to pose as the peace-maker of Europe. He had sense enough to see that the devastating wars on the continent could be avoided by religious tolerance on the part of the contending parties. With this pacific policy in view, he sought alliances for his family among the influential powers of the continent. In 1613 he married his daughter Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine, Frederick V., and wished to make friends with the Spanish by marrying his eldest son, Henry, to the Infanta of Spain,

while Charles, who was yet young, was to be mated from the court of France. His hopes were sadly frustrated. In 1612 Prince Henry died in the eighteenth year of his age. This young prince had given promise of more than ordinary talent; he was expert in military exercises and the management of artillery; his language was pure, and his conduct without stain. These qualities, contrasting so strongly with those of his father, endeared him to the people.

After the dissolution of the Addled Parliament, 1614, James was in great want of money, and thinking the Spanish Princess would have a richer dower than the French, he became anxious to marry his son Charles to the daughter of Philip III., of Spain; but finding that this could not be effected without a guarantee for the religious liberty of the Roman Catholics in England, the project was allowed to drop.

One of the greatest blots on James's character is the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh, who from the first year of the reign had been confined in the Tower, where he employed his time in writing a "History of the World" for the instruction of his young friend and admirer, Prince Henry. The death of that promising youth broke the captive's interest in his work. After Buckingham came into power, Raleigh's friends began to speak of a gold mine which he had discovered in Guiana. The story reached the king, who, being always in want of money, set him at liberty to make the voyage to America, but also told him not to fight the Spaniards, or he would pay for it with his head. Raleigh did not find the mine, but lost his son in a skirmish with the Spaniards. Then, not wishing to return empty-handed, he projected the seizure of a Spanish treasure-ship, but his crew mutinied; he returned to England broken-hearted and was beheaded under his former sentence. (See Vol. I., p. 66.)

During this reign the 'Thirty Years' War commenced, which lasted till the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. The immediate cause was a revolution in Bohemia, where the Protestant nobility had deposed their Catholic king, Ferdinand II., and elected in his stead Frederick, the Calvinist Elector Palatine, who had married Elizabeth, James's daughter. This gave the English king a personal interest in the war. The king of

Spain and other Catholic powers sided with Ferdinand, and James, pursuing a shuffling policy, soon saw his daughter and son-in-law driven not only from Bohemia, but from their Palatinate, and living homeless at the Hague in Holland.

In 1624 Parliament was called upon to vote supplies. Just enough was voted to help the Dutch against Spain and to defend the English harbors. Meanwhile a marriage treaty was signed between Charles and Henrietta of France, and the king could not again face Parliament, now that his son was to marry a Catholic. With what money he had, he sent 12,000 soldiers to the Palatinate under Count Mansfeld, a German officer. Stores ran short, disease broke out, and carried off 9,000 of the troops. The expedition was a complete failure, and James, bitterly disappointed, fell ill and died of ague in 1625.

#### THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

The Roman Catholics had expected great favor and indulgence on the accession of James, both as he was descended from Mary, whose life they believed to have been sacrificed to their cause, and as he himself, in his early youth, was imagined to have shown some partiality towards them, which nothing, they thought, but interest and necessity had since restrained. It is pretended, that he had even entered into positive engagements to tolerate their religion as soon as he should mount the throne of England; whether their credulity had interpreted in this sense some obliging expressions of the king's, or that he had employed such an artifice in order to render them favorable to his title. Very soon they discovered their mistake, and were at once surprised and enraged to find James on all occasions express his intention of strictly executing the laws enacted against them, and of persevering in all the rigorous measures of Elizabeth.

Catesby, a gentleman of good parts and of an ancient family, first thought of a most extraordinary method of revenge; and he opened his intention to Piercy, a descendant of the illustrious house of Northumberland. In one of their conversations with regard to the distressed condition of the Catholics, Piercy having broken into a sally of passion, and men-



tioned assassinating the king, Catesby took the opportunity of revealing to him a nobler and more extensive plan of treason, which not only included a sure execution of vengeance, but afforded some hopes of restoring the Catholic religion in England. "In vain," said he, "would you put an end to the king's life: he has children, who would succeed both to his crown and to his maxims of government. In vain would you extinguish the whole royal family; the nobility, the gentry, the parliament are all infected with the same heresy, and could raise to the throne another prince and another family, who, beside their hatred to our religion, would be animated with revenge for the tragical death of their predecessors. To serve any good purpose, we must destroy, at one blow, the king, the royal family, the lords, the commons; and bury all our enemies in one common ruin. Happily, they are all assembled on the first meeting of the parliament, and afford us the opportunity of glorious and useful vengeance. Great preparations will not be requisite. A few of us, combining, may run a mine below the hall in which they meet; and choosing the very moment when the king harangues both houses, consign over to destruction these determined foes to all piety and religion. Meanwhile, we ourselves standing aloof, safe and unsuspected, shall triumph in being the instruments of divine wrath, and shall behold with pleasure those sacrilegious walls, in which were passed the edicts for proscribing our church and butchering her children, tossed into a thousand fragments; while their impious inhabitants, meditating, perhaps, still new persecutions against us, pass from flames above to flames below, there forever to endure the torments due to their offences."

Piercy was charmed with this project of Catesby; and they agreed to communicate the matter to a few more, and among the rest to Thomas Winter, whom they sent over to Flanders in quest of Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with whose zeal and courage they were all thoroughly acquainted. When they enlisted any new conspirator, in order to bind him to secrecy, they always, together with an oath, employed the communion, the most sacred rite of their religion. And it is remarkable, that not one of these pious devotees ever enter-

tained the least compunction with regard to the cruel massacre which they projected, of whatever was great and eminent in the nation. Some of them only were startled by the reflection, that of necessity many Catholics must be present, as spectators or attendants on the king, or as having seats in the house of peers.

All this passed in the spring and summer of the year 1604; when the conspirators also hired a house in Piercy's name, adjoining to that in which the Parliament was to assemble. Towards the end of that year, they began their operations. That they might be less interrupted, and give less suspicion to the neighborhood, they carried in store of provisions with them, and never desisted from their labor. Obstinate in their purpose, and confirmed by passion, by principle, and by mutual exhortation, they little feared death in comparison of a disappointment; and having provided arms, together with the instruments of their labor, they resolved there to perish in case of a discovery. Their perseverance advanced the work; and they soon pierced the wall, though three yards in thickness; but on approaching the other side, they were somewhat startled at hearing a noise which they knew not how to account for. Upon inquiry, they found that it came from the vault below the House of Lords; that a magazine of coals had been kept there; and that, as the coals were selling off, the vault would be let to the highest bidder. The opportunity was immediately seized; the place hired by Piercy; thirty-six barrels of powder lodged in it; the whole covered up with fagots and billets; the doors of the cellar boldly flung open; and everybody admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

Confident of success, they now began to look forward, and to plan the remaining part of their project. The king, the queen, Prince Henry, were all expected to be present at the opening of parliament. The duke, by reason of his tender age, would be absent; and it was resolved that Piercy should seize him, or assassinate him. The Princess Elizabeth, a child likewise, was kept at Lord Harrington's house in Warwickshire; and Sir Everard Digby, Rookwood, and Grant, being let into the conspiracy, engaged to assemble their friends on

pretence of a hunting match, and seizing that princess, immediately to proclaim her queen. So transported were they with rage against their adversaries, and so charmed with the prospect of revenge, that they forgot all care of their own safety; and trusting to the general confusion which must result from so unexpected a blow, they foresaw not that the fury of the people, now unrestrained by any authority, must have turned against them, and would probably have satiated itself by a universal massacre of the Catholics.

The day so long wished for now approached, on which the parliament was appointed to assemble. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept during the space of nearly a year and a half. No remorse, no pity, no fear of punishment, no hope of reward, had as yet induced any one conspirator either to abandon the enterprise, or make a discovery of it. The holy fury had extinguished in their breast every other motive; and it was an indiscretion at last, proceeding chiefly from these very bigoted prejudices and partialities, which saved the nation.

Ten days before the meeting of parliament, Lord Monteagle, a Catholic, son to Lord Morley, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his servant by an unknown hand: "My Lord,—Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a terrible blow—this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm: for the danger is past as soon as you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, unto whose holy protection I commend you."

Monteagle knew not what to make of this letter; and though inclined to think it a foolish attempt to frighten and ridicule

him, he judged it safest to carry it to Lord Salisbury, secretary of state. Though Salisbury, too, was inclined to pay little attention to it, he thought proper to lay it before the king, who came to town a few days after. To the king it appeared not so light a matter; and from the serious, earnest style of the letter, he conjectured that it implied something dangerous and important. A "terrible blow," and yet "the authors concealed;" a danger so "sudden," and yet so "great;" these circumstances seemed all to denote some contrivance by gunpowder; and it was thought advisable to inspect all the vaults below the Houses of Parliament.

This care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, who purposely delayed the search till the day before the meeting of Parliament. He remarked those great piles of wood and fagots which lay in the vault under the upper house; and he cast his eye upon Fawkes, who stood in a dark corner, and passed himself for Piercy's servant. That daring and determined courage which so much distinguished this conspirator, even among these heroes in villany, was fully painted in his countenance, and was not passed unnoticed by the chamberlain. Such a quantity also of fuel, for the use of one who lived so little in town as Piercy, appeared a little extraordinary; and upon comparing all circumstances, it was resolved that a more thorough inspection should be made. About midnight, Sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of peace, was sent with proper attendants; and before the door of the vault finding Fawkes, who had just finished all his preparations, he immediately seized him, and turning over the fagots, discovered the powder. The matches, and everything proper for setting fire to the train, were taken in Fawkes' pocket; who, finding his guilt now apparent, and seeing no refuge but in boldness and despair, expressed the utmost regret that he had lost the opportunity of firing the powder at once, and of sweetening his own death by that of his enemies. Before the council he displayed the same intrepid firmness, mixed even with scorn and disdain; refusing to discover his accomplices, and showing no concern but for the failure of the enterprise. This obstinacy lasted two or three days; but being confined to the Tower, left to reflect on his guilt and danger, and



the rack being just shown to him, his courage, fatigued with so long an effort, and unsupported by hope or society, at last failed him; and he made a full discovery of all the conspirators.

Catesby, Piercy, and the other criminals who were in London, though they had heard of the alarm taken at a letter sent to Monteagle; though they had heard of the chamberlain's search; yet were resolved to persist to the utmost, and never abandon their hopes of success. But at last, hearing that Fawkes was arrested, they hurried down to Warwickshire; where Sir Everard Digby, thinking himself assured that success had attended his confederates, was already in arms, in order to seize the Princess Elizabeth. She had escaped into Coventry; and they were obliged to put themselves on their defence against the country, who were raised from all quarters and armed by the sheriff. The conspirators, with all their attendants, never exceeded the number of eighty persons; and being surrounded on every side, could no longer entertain hopes either of prevailing or escaping. Having therefore confessed themselves, and received absolution, they boldly prepared for death, and resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible to the assailants. But even this miserable consolation was denied them. Some of their powder took fire, and disabled them for defence. The people rushed in upon them. Piercy and Catesby were killed by one shot. Digby, Rookwood, Winter, and others, being taken prisoners, were tried, confessed their guilt, and died by the hands of the executioner.

Neither had the desperate fortune of the conspirators urged them to this enterprise, nor had the former profligacy of their lives prepared them for so great a crime. Before that audacious attempt, their conduct seems, in general, to be liable to no reproach. Catesby's character had entitled him to such regard, that Rookwood and Digby were seduced by their implicit trust in his judgment; and they declared that, from the motive alone of friendship to him, they were ready, on any occasion, to have sacrificed their lives. Digby himself was as highly esteemed and beloved as any man in England; and he had been particularly honored with the good opinion of

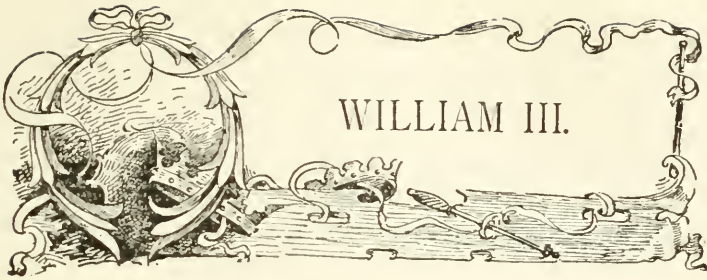


Queen Elizabeth. It was bigoted zeal alone, the most absurd of prejudices masked with reason, the most criminal of passions covered with the appearance of duty, which seduced them into measures that were fatal to themselves, and had so nearly proved fatal to their country.

The Lords Mordaunt and Stourton, two Catholics, were fined, the former ten thousand pounds, the latter four thousand, by the star chamber; because their absence from parliament had begotten a suspicion of their being acquainted with the conspiracy. The earl of Northumberland was fined thirty thousand pounds, and detained several years prisoner in the Tower; because, not to mention other grounds of suspicion, he had admitted Piercy into the number of gentlemen pensioners without his taking the requisite oaths.

The king, in his speech to the parliament, observed that, though religion had engaged the conspirators in so criminal an attempt, yet ought we not to involve all the Roman Catholics in the same guilt, or suppose them equally disposed to commit such enormous barbarities. Many holy men, he said, and our ancestors among the rest, had concurred with that church in her scholastic doctrines, who yet had never approved dethroning kings, or justified assassination. The wrath of Heaven is denounced against crimes, but innocent error may obtain its favor. For his part, he added, that conspiracy, however atrocious, should never alter in the least his plan of government; while with one hand he punished guilt, with the other he would still support and protect innocence. After this speech he prorogued the parliament till the twenty-second of January.—D. HUME.





THE Revolution of 1688 was necessary to establish the liberties of England on a firm basis, yet it was effected against the principles and prejudices of perhaps the larger part of the people, and owed its success to the foolish obstinacy of King James II. That unwise sovereign lost his throne because he was equally determined to restore the Roman Catholic religion, and to ex-

tinguish civil liberty, and in the three years of his reign took long strides toward the accomplishment of his purpose. Yet so thoroughly had the divine right of kings been impressed on the national mind that it was only under the pressure of circumstances that the leaders of the opposition ventured to call to their aid the commander, who had on the Continent baffled the power of Louis XIV. That commander was unwilling to respond to the call, or to assert his wife's claim to the throne, unless he should be acknowledged as king. When this was assured he set sail for England, and met with little opposition in mounting the throne which James left vacant. Parliament promulgated a Declaration of Rights, affirming the ancient rights and liberties of England, and offered the crown to William and Mary. It was thus established that the sovereign of England derives his title from the people, and holds his place on conditions laid down by them.

William Henry, of Nassau, Prince of Orange, was the third ruler of that name, both in Holland and England. He was the son of William II., Prince of Orange, and stadtholder of the United Provinces, by Mary Stuart, daughter of Charles

I., of England, and was born at the Hague on the 15th of November, 1650, eight days after his father's death from small-pox. He was a great-grandson of William the Silent, the illustrious founder of the Dutch Republic. The sudden death of William II. enabled the enemies of his family, led by John De Witt, to control public affairs, and later to obtain from the States-General of Holland the abolition of the stadtholdership. The people, however, retained their affection for the family of Orange throughout William's minority. Though this prince had a slender and feeble frame, and a delicate constitution, he possessed many natural qualities fitting him to be a great ruler, and his education developed these qualities in a high degree. He became noted for an ability to keep secrets, and to baffle curiosity by guarded answers. He had the Dutch phlegmatic temperament. His passions were concealed under an appearance of grave tranquillity. His knowledge of languages was extensive; besides his native Dutch, he spoke English, French and German readily, though not elegantly, and understood Latin, Italian and Spanish. In religion he was a decided Calvinist.

In accomplishing the ambitious designs of Louis XIV., France and England declared war against the Netherlands in the spring of 1672. By a political revolution in July the party of the House of Orange became dominant. The States-General then appointed William stadtholder, captain-general and admiral for life. He has been charged with rewarding the leaders of the mob which murdered John De Witt in August, 1672. To check the advance of the French army, William ordered the dykes to be opened and inundated large tracts of land. His memorable words that he would "die in the last ditch," have become proverbial. The French evacuated Holland in 1674, and William made a treaty of peace with England in the same year. In August he fought a battle against the French Prince of Condé at Senef, where neither army gained a decisive victory. During his first campaigns he exposed himself like a man who sought for death, was always foremost in the charge and last in the retreat. No disaster could deprive him of his firmness or of the entire possession of all his faculties. He was defeated at St. Omer in

April, 1677, by the Duke of Orleans. In November of that year he married Mary Stuart, daughter of James II., of England, who was then Duke of York. The war was terminated against his will by the peace of Nimeguen, August, 1678. Four days later he attacked the French army at Mons, pretending he did not know that peace had been made. His enthusiastic defender, Macaulay, says, "In the hope of breaking off the negotiation which he knew to be all but concluded, he fought one of the most bloody and obstinate battles of that age."

Before he had reached the age of twenty-five the Prince of Orange was renowned as a diplomatist and a general. In 1686 he became the adviser of the English opposition party, which the perverse and fatuous policy of his uncle, James II., had rendered very large and powerful. In June, 1688, Henry Sidney, Russell and several noblemen, invited William to come to England with an army for the defence of liberty and the Protestant religion. He issued a Declaration in which he abjured all thought of conquest, and promised that as soon as the nation had been delivered from tyranny, his army should be sent back. He also promised to leave all questions to the decision of a free and legal parliament. On the 4th of November, he landed at Torbay with an army of about fourteen thousand men. His enterprise was favored by disaffection and conspiracy in the army of James. Lord Churchill, who was lieutenant-general, was prominent in this conspiracy, and after he had undermined the power of James by secret intrigues, he openly joined the army of William. On the 11th of December, James threw the great seal into the Thames and absconded, having made no provision for the preservation of order. London then became a prey to riots and anarchy, and the whole machinery of government was disordered. William prudently avoided a battle, and the great English Revolution was effected without bloodshed.

William's friends among the nobility summoned a convention which met in January, 1689, and declared that James had abdicated, and that the throne had become vacant. In the next month the convention requested William and Mary to accept the crown, and they began to reign. The army and



the clergy displayed ill humor amid the general joy. The army was mortified because it had been an insignificant factor in the Revolution. William prudently appointed both Whigs and Tories to high offices, while reserving to himself the direction of foreign affairs. His chief ministers were Danby, Halifax, Shrewsbury and Godolphin. His position was beset with difficulties, and he never became popular with the English. His cold manners gave almost universal offense, and he took little interest in English affairs. Queen Mary, his faithful and affectionate wife, was more popular.

In 1689 England, Austria, Spain and the Dutch Republic, under the leadership of William, formed a coalition against Louis XIV., of France. Early in that year James, being supplied by Louis with money and arms, landed in Ireland, hoping for aid from his many Catholic adherents. The English fleet was defeated by the French at Beachy Head, in June, 1690. William passed over to Ireland with an army of about thirty-six thousand men, and gained a decisive victory over James at the battle of the Boyne, on the 1st of July (or 12th, according to the New Style). James, who had watched the battle at a safe distance, again fled to France.

After his power was fully established in the British Isles, William went to the Continent and took command of the army in Flanders. The English and Dutch fleets, under Admiral Russell, defeated the French at La Hogue in May, 1692. This battle was a turning-point in naval history; the mastery of the seas now passed to England. But on land William was severely defeated by Marshal Luxemburg, at Steenkerke, in August, and again at Neerwinden in July, 1693. His reign was disturbed by factious intrigues. Churchill, who had been made Earl of Marlborough by William, was implicated in a plot to restore the Stuarts, and was removed from office and command in 1692.

In 1694 Queen Mary was attacked by the small-pox, and the physicians soon assured the king that they had no hope of her case. Though usually stern, William was warmly affectionate to his wife. In his grief he exclaimed, "I was the happiest man on earth, and now I am the most miserable. She had no fault—none. You knew her well, but you could



not know—nobody but myself could know—her goodness.” The palace which had been commenced by Charles II. at Greenwich was ordered by Mary to be completed as a refuge for sailors disabled in the service of their country. William took melancholy pleasure in carrying out her wishes, and the Greenwich Hospital is her monument.

In 1695 William captured from the French the town of Namur, though an army for its relief was in the field. This was the first loss the French had sustained for fifty-two years. The tide had turned. Though the French commanders had had several victories, the French treasury and resources were exhausted. The war was suspended by the treaty of Ryswick in September, 1697. Most of the conquests on both sides were restored, and William was acknowledged King of England. He had formed another coalition and was preparing to renew the war when he died, March 8, 1702, in consequence of a fall from his horse while weak from severe illness.

William had lived to see the success of his plans for foreign and domestic affairs. He had compelled Louis XIV. to withdraw his support from James II., and in other respects had thwarted the ambition of the French king. Though he had been unfortunate in many battles, yet, by his courage, fortitude and equanimity, he proved himself a formidable adversary. He was peculiarly fitted to be the head of a confederacy. While he was usually grave and phlegmatic, sparing of speech and unattractive, he was roused by danger to cheerfulness, animation and impetuosity. He was full of self-confidence, and indomitable in pursuit of the objects on which he fixed his desire.

#### WILLIAM OF ORANGE MADE KING OF ENGLAND.

King James, having allowed himself to neglect the information of the King of France, was astonished when he received from the British minister at the Hague most unquestionable advices of the intended invasion of England. Herbert went to sea with the Dutch fleet, and was ordered to stand over to the Downs, and try whether any of the English fleet would come over to him. But the contrary winds that prevailed made the attempt impracticable; and very soon a

storm, amounting to a terrific tempest, arose at southwest, and the fleet was forced back again to Helvoetslys. But this was followed by a wind from the east, on the 1st of November, when William, calling God to witness the purity of his intention, went on board the flagship. His armament consisted of fifty stout ships of war, twenty-five frigates, and an equal number of fire-ships, and four hundred transports, carrying 14,000 soldiers. The prince carried on his ship the flag of England, inscribed, "The Protestant Religion and the Liberties of England;" but on his state barge he carried an orange flag, and upon it the motto of the House of Nassau, "Je maintiendrai."

The fleet, however, had been but few hours under sail when there arose such a storm as dispersed the whole fleet; but the rendezvous had been prudently and fortuitously appointed for landing at Torbay. This was on the 4th of November, the birthday of the Prince of Orange—who was now thirty-eight years of age—and the eleventh anniversary of his marriage. His Highness dedicated his time to his devotions as he continued his course down the Channel; but before night the fleet was carried into Torbay, where the forces were landed with such diligence and tranquillity that the whole army was on shore before day broke; but the wind, again rising to a hurricane, would have rendered a disembarkation impossible, if the landing had been deferred for only a few hours. It was November 5th, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, when the prince entered the village of Brixham, and, turning to Bishop Burnet, he said, "Ought not I to believe in predestination?" At three o'clock he mounted his horse, and rode with Schomberg to reconnoitre. They found the English everywhere celebrating their national holiday as they rode four miles forward, and lodged at a little town called Newton-Bushell. The army marched from Torbay the following day at noon, and the march was continued to Exeter. But instead of meeting an enemy he here encountered a powerful friend; for Courtenay of Powderham Castle sent his son to pray the prince to come and sleep at his seat that night, which His Highness did, and remained there four whole days.

The prince stayed a week at Exeter, from which the bishop and the dean absented themselves, and the magistrates evinced great backwardness in showing their sentiments. Indeed, there was not at first the encouragement that was expected; but, on the tenth day, the nobility came in one by one, and among them Sir Edward Seymour, by whose advice an association was formed, which was signed by all persons who had rallied round the prince, and was then sent to all parts of the kingdom, and signed by great numbers everywhere. From this time affairs changed and prospered. The army marched forward to Salisbury, where Lord Cornbury, the son of the Earl of Clarendon, deserting from the king's army, brought three regiments over to the invaders. King James II. had selected Salisbury Plain as the place of rendezvous to assemble his forces, whither they now repaired from several sides with all possible diligence, and the king himself arrived at the camp on the 19th of November. The Earl of Feversham was his general, but the monarch was now first apprised that many leading officers had avowed that they could not in their consciences fight against a prince who was come over to secure their religion and liberties. The very next day Lord Churchill (the great Marlborough) went over, with the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Berkeley, and several officers followed him. This palpable proof of the evidence of the information he had received, and particularly Churchill's defection, so depressed the spirits of the king that he quitted the army, and returned to London with a precipitation that resembled a flight. On his arrival he learned that the Prince of Denmark, who had quitted him on the road at Andover, had gone back to the Prince of Orange, and that his daughter, the Princess Anne, had privately withdrawn from Whitehall and gone to Nottingham. These things put the poor king into the most inexpressible dejection of mind, to see himself forsaken not only by those whom he had trusted and favored, but even by his own children.

The prince now marched forward to Sherborne. A foolish ballad was composed at this time, treating the papists in a very contemptuous manner, which had a burden said to be made up of Irish words, "Lero, lero, Lilli-bullero." The

whole army took up this chant, which was adopted as they marched by all people, both in town and country; and perhaps never had so trivial a thing so great an effect. It was originally the plan of the campaign to have secured Bristol and Gloucester, and so have marched to Oxford; but the king's precipitate return to London put an end to this precaution, and the prince resolved to make all the haste he could to the capital, where things were taking a course greatly in his favor.

On the army arriving at Hungerford, His Highness was met by commissioners from the king to ask him what he demanded. A day was taken to consider of an answer. The prince desired the Earls of Oxford, Shrewsbury, and Clarendon to treat with the Marquis of Halifax and the Earls of Nottingham and Godolphin, whom the king had sent, and they delivered the prince's answer to them on Sunday, the 8th of December. The king seemed at first disposed to accept these proposals, and called an extraordinary council of all the peers that were in town to deliberate upon them. Before the council broke up, the king, addressing himself to the Duke of Bedford, said: "My lord, you are a good man and have a great influence; you can do much for me at this time." To which his grace replied: "I am an old man, and can do but little; but I had once a son who could now have been very serviceable to your majesty." The king was struck dumb with his answer, for it was he who had sent Lord William Russell to the block.

But the same night James II. took counsel with his closest counsellors, who thought it most advantageous to their religious hopes that the king should preserve all his pretensions, though at present unable to support them, and advised him to withdraw into France. The queen prevailed with the king not only to consent to this, but to let her go there first to make ready for him; and accordingly she went on December 10th to Portsmouth, and from thence crossed to France, in a man-of-war. The king, determined to follow the queen in disguise, sent the same evening to the lord chancellor, and commanded him to deliver up to him the great seal. The same night, or about three o'clock in the morning of the 11th,



James, dressed in a plain suit and a bobwig, took water at Whitehall, accompanied by a few attendants, who were not acquainted with his intention. He pretended to be the servant of Sir Edward Hales, who carried the great seal, and flung it into the river, in order that nothing might be legally done by the State in his absence. The Earl of Feversham, as soon as he was apprised of the king's flight, dismissed the army, and gave notice of it by trumpet to the Prince of Orange, who, while advancing to Oxford, rested at Abingdon, where he received this notification, and moved immediately to Windsor; but the poor king, disappointed at not finding the vessel he had ordered to meet him at Feversham, had been stopped by the police, and had been brought back to Whitehall on the 16th of December.

His Majesty's return threw the prince into great perplexities. It is true that the king had no army, and was in no condition to command anything. Indeed, he wrote to the prince to invite him to meet him at St. James's, that they might personally confer together on the means of redressing public grievances. But the prince thought it better to continue his march, and moved forward to Sion House, near Brentford, whence he dispatched his Dutch guards to take possession of all posts about Whitehall and St. James's. The king sent to request Count Solms, who commanded the guards, to allow him to have his own guard; but upon a refusal he desired permission to withdraw to Rochester, which he did, about noon on the 18th; and a few hours later the Prince of Orange made his entry into London, without pomp, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, in a traveling carriage drawn by post-horses, with a cloak-bag strapped at the back of it. In this guise he slunk across the park into St. James's palace. It happened to rain very heavily; but great numbers had assembled on the road-side, desirous to see the great man enter. The day drew on, and they had stayed very long in the wet, when this miserable *cortège* passed by and immensely disappointed the mob. William, being an enemy to show and parade, averse to all popular arts, and dead to the voice of popular joy, took no notice whatever of the acclamations of the people, and passed on in a manner at once so



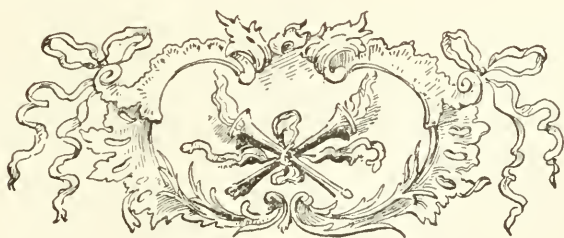
undignified and ungracious as to cool very much the popular enthusiasm towards him.

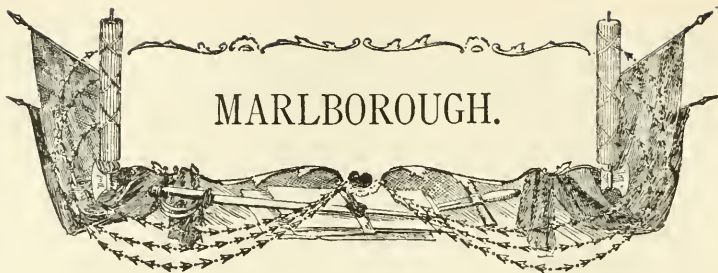
The public bodies, however, waited upon the prince on his arrival, and expressed their zeal for his cause—the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, and a great many other bodies, and the nobility and others also in great numbers. Old Sergeant Maynard came with the men of the law; he was nearly ninety, and the prince took notice of his great age, saying he believed “he must have outlived all the lawyers of his time.” The old man wittily replied, “True, sir, and I should have outlived the law itself, if your Highness had not come over.” The bishop and the clergy waited on the prince the following day, when the Prince and Princess of Denmark took up their lodgings at the Cockpit, as if nothing had happened. The king remained at Rochester till the 23d of December, when he quitted it privately at three o’clock in the morning, with his natural son, the Duke of Berwick, and went on horseback as far as the sea-shore, where he found a frigate that landed him at Ambleteuse, in France, from whence he proceeded to join his queen at St. Germain. Thus, without firing a single shot, the Prince of Orange obtained possession of the king’s palace, and had his royal person in his power for several weeks. Within three days of James’s departure the prince was requested to take upon himself the administration of public affairs, until a convention could be assembled to settle the constitution of the kingdom.

The prince remained at St. James’s all this time, with a patience and forbearance that were most remarkable, going but little abroad, and hearing all that was addressed to him, but seldom making any answers. After this reserve had continued for several weeks, he called for some of the leaders, and imparted to them that he had been given to understand, to his surprise, that one of the intended measures would be for placing the princess, his wife, on the throne, and that he was to reign by her side by courtesy. He said that no man could esteem a woman more than he did the princess; but he was so made that he could not think of holding anything by apron-strings, nor should he think it reasonable to have any

share in the government unless it was put in his own person, and that for term of life. If they thought fit to settle their constitution otherwise he should not oppose it, but would go back to Holland, and meddle no more in their affairs. This was presently told about, and was not in fact intended to be kept secret, as it helped not a little to bring the debates at Westminster to a determination. At length both houses agreed, and voted severally that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be King and Queen of England, but that the sole and full regal power should be in the prince only, in the name of both. This was only carried on a division in the House of Lords by two or three majority, in a house of one hundred and twenty; and it went very hard in the Commons.

On the 12th of February the princess arrived in London, expressing her satisfaction at the decision, for she said "she was the prince's wife, and never would be other than she might be in conjunction with him and under him." The next day the Prince and Princess of Orange being seated on two large chairs under a canopy of state in the banqueting-house at Whitehall, both houses of the convention waited upon them in a body, and having read to them the declaration agreed upon, made a solemn tender of the crown to their Highnesses, and the same day they were proclaimed King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, by the names of William and Mary, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people. To those who are superstitious about days and seasons it may be interesting to know that the 13th of February, 1689, on which this great and solemn act was ratified, was Ash Wednesday.—SIR E. CUST.





THE Duke of Marlborough was, with but one exception, the greatest of English warriors; yet, while his victories raised the glory of his country, they did nothing to extend its dominions. The story of his career has more to do with the political quarrels of the day than with the course of empire.

John Churchill was born in the manor-house of Ashe, in Devonshire, England, on June 24, 1650. His father, a gallant soldier, had fought for King Charles, and was afterwards knighted; his mother, Elizabeth Drake, belonged to an ancient family of the county. John, the second son, was but moderately educated, yet better than some popular stories allow. He said himself that he learned English history from the plays of Shakespeare. At the age of sixteen he received a commission in the Guards, perhaps owing to the influence of his sister, Arabella, who about that time became the favorite mistress of the Duke of York. Young Churchill was involved in the notorious dissipations of the court of Charles II., and even inspired a passion in the breast of one of the royal mistresses, the Countess of Castlemaine. He is said to have leaped from a window when the king was about to enter her room, and to have been rewarded for his daring by a gift of £5,000, which formed the commencement of his fortune.

Churchill soon after was sent to Tangier, on the coast of Africa, and made his first essay in arms against the Moors. On his return he was dispatched with the English auxil-



L. S. FERRIS, PINX.

MARLBOROUGH AT BLENHEIM





ary force which, by King Charles's disgraceful bargain, co-operated with the French army in Flanders, in their campaigns against the Dutch. For exploits here the young soldier was publicly thanked by Louis XIV., at the head of his army; and Marshal Turenne, who commanded it, prophesied that "the handsome Englishman would one day make a great general." Four campaigns under Turenne followed, in which, as he ever after admitted, he learned the art of war. From Flanders Churchill returned to London, with the strongest possible recommendations from Louis XIV. and Turenne to the King of England. He rapidly rose in the Guards, and was soon promoted to the command of a regiment.

The hero's charms of manner and personal beauty won the heart of Sarah Jennings, one of the maids of honor to the Princess Anne, who afterwards became queen. His marriage with her took place in 1678, and thenceforth his wife exercised an unbounded influence on his life and fortunes. Though she had as little money as her husband, she was beautiful, high-spirited and ambitious, with great talents for conversation as well as intrigue. At the same time she was arrogant, overbearing, and irascible. It is hard to say whether her husband's fortunes were aided most by her influence at court, or marred by her supercilious demeanor which involved her in continual quarrels, and finally alienated the affections of the queen. Though a courtier, and indebted for his first rise to the favor of the Duke of York, who continued his kindness to him when he became king, yet Churchill was a staunch Protestant, and saw clearly the inevitable result of the headlong course which James II. pursued soon after his accession to the throne, in order to re-establish the Roman Catholic faith in his dominions. When the English people, driven to desperation by his measures, invited William of Orange over in 1688, Churchill deserted his early patron and welcomed his rival. This transfer of allegiance, whatever be its palliation, was so performed as to be an indelible blot on his memory. He did not resign his appointment, and then appear in arms against him, but dishonorably retained his commission in the Guards, and exerted his influence to induce them to pass over to the enemy.

After the flight of James II., Churchill was taken into favor with William III., was created Earl of Marlborough, and was employed in the south of Ireland in command of the royal forces. He rendered good service to his new master by the reduction of Cork and other strongholds. But, soon disgusted with the preference shown to the Dutch officers, and the insensibility of William, he fell into a correspondence with some of the Jacobites abroad. His wife induced the Princess Anne to put herself in opposition to her sister, the queen. He was arrested in 1692, on a charge of high treason, and deprived of his honors and employments; yet he was soon after liberated, as the evidence was insufficient to authorize his detention. Churchill labored long under the suspicion of the court, and it was not till 1696 that he was restored to his rank as privy-councillor, and appointed preceptor to the Duke of Gloucester, the heir-apparent to the throne. "Make him like yourself," said William III., in conferring upon him the appointment, "and you will leave me nothing further to desire."

The King of Spain, dying childless, had bequeathed immense dominions to the Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. This tremendous addition to the power of France involved Europe in a general war. The Earl of Marlborough was thus called to act on a greater theatre, on which he acquired lasting renown. Anne appointed him commander-in-chief of the allied army, 60,000 strong. War having been declared in May, 1702, he repaired to the camp near Nimeguen, to which place the army had retired before the superior forces of Louis XIV. The arrival of Marlborough, however, soon altered the state of affairs. He instantly took the initiative, threw the enemy into retreat, and followed up his successes by the capture of four of their most important strongholds before the campaign was over. Such was the vigor of his measures, and the skill with which they were taken, that he succeeded in capturing the strong fortresses of Roermonde, Liège, and Mæstricht in a few months. The possession of the last-named gave him the entire control of the river Meuse, on which it stands, and the great advantage of water communication into the very heart of Flanders.

The campaign of 1703 was not equally prolific of great events. One incident, however, was of great interest with reference to future events. The French had, with vast labor, constructed a set of lines covering the approach to Brussels from Mæstricht, now threatened by Lord Marlborough. He succeeded by a sudden nocturnal attack, however, to force these lines, and this brought him to the field of Waterloo, in a position exactly the reverse of that occupied by Napoleon and Wellington more than a century later. The French, thrown back on the forest of Soignies, had their backs to Brussels and their faces towards Paris; the allies threatened the French lines from the wood of Ohain. A fair opportunity of finishing the war at a blow was presented, for Marlborough had got between the French and Paris, and defeat to them was ruin. He earnestly besought the Dutch deputies to take advantage of it, but they stupidly refused.

In 1704, however, the aspirations of the English hero were amply gratified. Louis XIV. had determined to stand on the defensive in Flanders, and make a great effort in Germany, with a view to intimidate Austria, and from it to conclude a separate peace. His efforts were well-nigh attended with entire success. Munich was passed, Vienna threatened, the cabinet of Vienna, menaced with Hungarian insurrection in the rear, was in an agony of apprehension. But the hour of deliverance was at hand. Marlborough, putting himself at the head of 30,000 of his best troops, crossed over into Germany, stormed the entrenched camp at Schellenberg, with the loss to the enemy of 12,000 men, and utterly defeated them at Blenheim with the loss of 15,000 prisoners, 80 guns, and 100 standards. Marshal Tallard and the chief French officers were made prisoners. It was the first defeat of the French in battle since they defeated the Spaniards at Rocroi in 1643. The name of Blenheim henceforth stands conspicuous in the roll of British victories. The immediate effect of it was to destroy French authority in Germany.

The campaign of 1705 was not productive of any memorable events, but Marlborough renewed his triumphant career in 1706. Assailing the French army, 60,000 strong, at Ramillies, he totally defeated them, after a hard struggle,

with the loss of 15,000 men. The effect of this victory was the immediate capture of Brussels and liberation of all Austrian Flanders. Early in the following year the allied armies sustained a serious reverse by the surprise of Ghent and Bruges, which was effected by Prince Vendôme, the French general, who was at the head of 100,000 men. The vigor of Marlborough, however, soon restored affairs. Suddenly wheeling round, when in the course of retreat towards Brussels, he attacked and totally defeated the French at Oudenarde, with the loss of 20,000 men. He besieged and took Lille, though garrisoned by Marshal Boufflers with 15,000 men of the best troops in France. In the face of Vendôme, Marlborough, at the head of 100,000 men, relieved Brussels, which had been threatened in the meanwhile, and concluded his triumphant career by the recovery of Ghent and Bruges. Marlborough's victory at Malplaquet in 1709 was by far the most bloody and hard-fought. The whole French works were at length carried, though at a cost of 20,000 men to the victors, who gained possession of the important fortress of Mons, commanding the high-road to Paris.

This was the last of the great victories of Marlborough ; thenceforward he ceased to be a free agent. The Tory party in England, who were jealous of his fame and envious of his power, never ceased their efforts to effect his downfall. They obtained a majority in Parliament, and had the support of the queen. Mrs. Masham, a niece of the Duchess of Marlborough, supplanted her mistress and benefactor in the royal favor. Marlborough's proposed measures were all examined by a hostile cabinet, and the requisite supplies refused to him. Crippled in this manner, he worked on with patriotic zeal. Bethune and Aisne had been captured, and he was preparing to besiege Arras when he was interrupted in the career of victory, by being deprived of the command of the army, and even threatened with a parliamentary impeachment for alleged malversations when in command. The consequences were soon apparent. The allies, deprived of his military arm, and of the aid of the English contingents, were defeated at Denain, and the treaty of Utrecht was concluded, which left the crown of Spain in possession of the House of Bourbon.

Marlborough had received princely rewards from the nation. He was made a duke after the battle of Blenheim, and a sum voted to build a palace of the same name on the estate of Woodstock, which had been bestowed on him by Queen Anne. After his fall, the usual annual grants from the treasury were stopped by the Tory ministry, and the costly pile was only finished by £60,000 advanced from the private fortune of the duke. Marlborough remained in privacy at Blenheim Park, but firm in his principles, till the accession of the Hanoverian family in 1714, when he was again made commander-in-chief. But he took little part in public affairs. He was soon after stricken with paralysis, from which he only recovered to drag on a precarious existence, which was terminated by death on the 16th of June, 1722, in the seventy-second year of his age. His wife, left with an immense fortune, survived her husband for twenty years, and spent the time in vindicating his memory and quarreling with her relatives.

Marlborough was handsome in person, and fascinating in manners. He had remarkable tact and wonderful skill in managing men. He was a skilful diplomatist as well as one of the greatest generals of modern Europe. The skill and resolution of his campaigns won the approval of Napoleon's critical judgment. He never besieged a town he did not take, and he never fought a battle he did not gain. Both in planning and executing his enterprises he was careful about details, and preserved his coolness amid the excitements and dangers of battle. He was beloved by his soldiers, and was able to keep together in harmony an army of many nationalities. His fame is tarnished by his excessive love of money, his unpardonable desertion of James II., and subsequent treachery to William. His later career showed him a thoroughly patriotic Englishman.

#### THE BATTLE OF BLENHEIM.

About midday of the 14th of August, 1704, an aide-de-camp arrived with the joyful intelligence that Eugene was ready. Marlborough instantly mounted his horse, and ordered Lord Cutts to begin the attack on Blenheim, while he led



the main body towards the Nebel, where the bridges were nearly completed.

At once the attack on Blenheim commenced. The troops selected for this service inclined to the right, and descending to the bank of the Nebel took possession of the two mills under a heavy fire of grape. Having effected their purpose, they drew up on the further bank, where they were covered by the rising slip of ground. They then deliberately advanced towards the enclosures, and at the distance of thirty paces received the first discharge of the enemy. Many brave officers and soldiers fell; but the gallant General Rowe, who commanded the leading brigade, stuck his sword into the palisades before he gave the word to fire. In a few minutes one-third of the troops composing the first line were either killed or wounded, and all efforts to force their way against an enemy superior in number and advantageously posted, were ineffectual. General Rowe himself was mortally wounded by a musket-ball. His own lieutenant-colonel and major were killed in attempting to remove the body, and the line, discouraged and broken, fell back on the Hessians, who were advancing. At this moment three squadrons of *gens d'armes* charged the right flank of the disordered troops and seized their colors, but were repelled by the Hessians, who, after recovering their colors, drove the assailants back to their lines. Lord Cutts, observing new squadrons preparing to advance, sent an aide-de-camp for a reinforcement of cavalry to cover his exposed flank; and General Lumley, who commanded nearest the spot, detached five squadrons under Colonels Palm and Sybourg across the Nebel.

Having cleared the swamp with difficulty, they had scarcely formed, before five squadrons of *gens d'armes* saluted them with a fire of musketballs. The allied horse, instantly charging sword in hand, drove them back, through the intervals of the brigade of Silly, which was in the second line. They, however, suffered severely; for being galled in flank by the musketry from Blenheim, and assailed by the brigades in front, they were repulsed in disorder, and must have recrossed the Nebel had not the brave Hessians a second time repelled the French horse.

The enemy, having placed four additional pieces of artillery upon the height near Blenheim, swept the fords of the Nebel with grape-shot. But notwithstanding this destructive fire, the brigades of Ferguson and Hulsén crossed near the lower water-mill and advanced in front of the village. The enemy, therefore, withdrew the guns within their defences, and met the attack with such vigor that, after three successive repulses, the assailants halted under cover of the rising ground.

From the border of the Nebel, Marlborough anxiously surveyed this unequal conflict. Finding that Blenheim was occupied by a powerful body, instead of a detachment of infantry, and observing that the enemy were drawing down towards the Nebel to prevent his cavalry from forming on the farther bank, he ordered the troops of Lord Cutts to keep up a feigned attack, by firing in platoons over the crest of the rising ground, while he himself hastened the dispositions for the execution of his grand design.

During this interval the passage of the Nebel was already begun by General Churchill, who had pushed a part of the infantry over the bridges in the vicinity of Unterglauch, which was still in flames. As soon as they began to form on the farther bank, the first line of cavalry broke into columns and descended to the fords. Some threw fascines into the stream or formed bridges with the planks of the pontoons, while others plunged into the water, and waded through the swamp towards the point of the islet. The enemy observed them struggling for a passage, and removing part of the guns from Blenheim, enfiladed their crowded columns.

Scarcely had the confederate horse disengaged themselves, and begun to advance their right beyond the front of the infantry, before they were attacked by Zurlauben with the first line of cavalry, supported by the fire of artillery and musketry, from Blenheim. Exhausted by their previous efforts, and unable to present a connected line, they were borne down by the weight of the charge, and several squadrons on the left were driven to the very brink of the rivulet. Fortunately a party of infantry was now sufficiently formed to check the pursuit of the enemy by a heavy fire, as soon as the broken troops had cleared their front; while the second

line of cavalry advancing, several squadrons wheeled on the right of the French, and drove them behind the sources of the Meulweyer. These were incorporated with the first line, five additional squadrons were instantly led up to prolong the left, and the whole body in compact order halted on the hither bank of the Meulweyer, with the left flank stretching towards the outer hedges of Blenheim. They did not, however, long maintain their advantage; for two battalions of the royal brigade, filing along the enclosure to the left of the village, opened a galling fire on their flank. The nearest squadrons gave way, and the hostile cavalry, except the *gens d'armes*, resumed their original position.

Meanwhile the passage of the Nebel was nearly completed in the centre. The broken squadrons again rallied, notwithstanding the concentrated fire of the enemy on the fords; and by the exertions of General Lumley the whole left was drawn up beyond the Nebel.

Hompesch, with the Dutch cavalry, was likewise in line, and the Duke of Wirtemberg began to extend the Danes and Hanoverians in the direction of Oberglauh. The remaining battalions of infantry were also rapidly moving into the assigned position.

In proportion as the lines extended, the conflict which had commenced in the vicinity of Blenheim spread towards Oberglauh. The Danish and Hanoverian cavalry being charged by the right wing of Marsin, many squadrons were driven across the Nebel; and though they renewed the attack, yet being outflanked and enfiladed by the fire of the troops in and near Oberglauh, they were again repulsed. While the battle fluctuated on this point, the prince of Holstein Beck, who had commanded the enemy from the elevation near Weilheim, descended to the Nebel, and began to pass with eleven battalions above Oberglauh. Scarcely, however, did the head of this column appear beyond the rivulet before it was charged by nine battalions, including the Irish brigade, which particularly distinguished itself. Application was made for support to the contiguous squadrons of imperial horse, which were drawn up within musket-shot; but the demand being refused, the two foremost battalions were nearly cut to pieces, and the duke

of Holstein Beck himself mortally wounded and made prisoner. Marlborough observed the disaster, and was conscious that not a moment was to be lost in gaining a point on which the success of his plan depended. He galloped to the spot, led the brigade of Bernsdorf across the rivulet below Oberglauh, and posted them himself. He then ordered the artillery to be brought down from Weilheim for their support, and directed some squadrons of Danes and Hanoverians to cover their left. As the cavalry of Marsin evinced an intention to charge, he led forward several squadrons of the imperialists, and finally compelled the enemy to retire into Oberglauh, or to fall back beyond. By this prompt and masterly movement he established a connection with the army of Eugene, for while this small body of infantry divided the attention of the enemy, and protected the left of the imperialists, who were forming above Oberglauh, they covered the right of the great line of cavalry and masked the offensive movement which Marlborough meditated against Tallard.

It was now three in the afternoon, and Marlborough returned to the centre, after dispatching Lord Tunbridge to announce his success, and learn the situation of his colleague.

Having described the progress of the battle on the left, we turn our attention to the army of Eugene. About one the first onset commenced. The Prince of Anhalt, who commanded the infantry, prolonged his line towards the gorge of the mountains to take the enemy in flank, and traversed the main stream of the Nebel. Being, however, obliged to halt for the arrival of the artillery, his troops were exposed to the destructive fire of a battery in front of Lutzingen. At length a counter battery being placed near the verge of the wood, the troops again moved forward in columns filing across the stream, and forming as they advanced. The Danes attacked the enemy posted near the skirt of the wood, and the Prussians driving back the hostile cavalry, after a sanguinary conflict, carried the battery which had spread destruction through their ranks. At this moment, the imperial horse, breaking into columns, forded the stream, and drove the first line of the Bavarian cavalry through the intervals of the second. Being, however, broken in their turn by the second, they were pur-

sued across the Nebel to their original position on the border of the wood. Some of the hostile squadrons then wheeled to the left, fell on the flank of the Prussian infantry, recovered the battery, and forced them to retreat. At the distance of two hundred paces the broken infantry made a stand, but being assailed by increasing numbers, were driven back with heavy loss. The Danes, discouraged by the fate of their companions, relinquished the ground which they had gained, and a total rout might have ensued, had not the Prince of Anhalt rushed into the thickest of the combat, animated the drooping spirits of the men, and drawn them back to the front, where they were covered by the wood.

Meanwhile Eugene, rallying the cavalry, led them again to the charge. They were at first successful; but being unsupported by the infantry, and enfiladed, both from Oberglauh and the battery in front of Lutzen, were a second time broken, and fell back in disorder across the Nebel. Fortunately, the Dutch brigade of Heidenbrecht, which formed part of Marlborough's right, had now taken a position above Oberglauh. As these troops masked the movements of the imperialists, Eugene, after restoring order among his cavalry, again led them across the Nebel, and advanced towards the enemy. Both parties being equally exhausted, they paused before they came in contact at such a small distance, as enabled every individual to mark the countenance of his opponent. In this awful suspense, the elector was seen emulating the conduct of Eugene, riding from rank to rank, encouraging the brave, and rousing the timid by his voice and example. At the same time the prince of Anhalt, after charging the front of the infantry, advanced obliquely, stretching the right of his line towards the wood, to take the enemy in flank. As soon as he had reached the proper point, the signal for a new charge was given. But the imperial cavalry were discouraged by the double repulse; their onset was feeble, momentary and indecisive, their line was again broken, and they fled in utter confusion a third time beyond the Nebel. In a transport of despair, Eugene left the prince of Hanover and the duke of Wurtemberg to rally the horse, and flew to the infantry, who still maintained the attack with incredible resolution. Stung



by the prospect of defeat, he rashly exposed his person, and was in danger of being shot by a Bavarian dragoon, but was saved by one of his own men, who sabred the trooper at the very moment he was taking the fatal aim. The daring example of the chief exciting the emulation of his troops, they at length turned the left flank of the enemy, and after a sanguinary struggle drove them back through the wood and across the ravine beyond Lutzingen. Still, however, their position was perilous in the extreme; unsupported by the horse, their very success had placed them in a position from which it was difficult to retreat, and dangerous to advance, had the enemy been enabled to resume the attack.

In the midst of this protracted contest the battle grew to a crisis on the left. The troops of Marlborough had finally effected the passage of the Nebel, and at five his dispositions were completed. The cavalry were formed in two strong lines, fronting the enemy, and the infantry ranged in their rear towards the left, with intervals between the battalions, to favor the retreat of such squadrons as should experience a repulse. In the course of the successive efforts made by one party to maintain their ground, and by the other to advance, Tallard had interlaced the cavalry with nine battalions of infantry, originally posted in the second line. This skillful disposition being instantly perceived by the officers commanding on the corresponding point of the allied front, to counteract it, three battalions of Hanoverians were brought forward, and placed in a similar manner, supported by several pieces of artillery.

Amidst a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry the allies, moving up the ascent, made a charge, but were unable to break the firm order of the enemy, and fell back sixty paces, though they still maintained themselves on the brow of the acclivity. After another awful pause, the conflict was renewed with artillery and small arms; the fire of the enemy was gradually overpowered, and their infantry, after displaying the most heroic valor, began to shrink from the tempest of balls which rapidly thinned their ranks. Marlborough seized this moment to make a new charge, and the troops pressed forward with so much bravery and success, that

the French horse were again broken ; and the nine battalions, being abandoned, were cut to pieces or made prisoners. The consequence of this shock was fatal, for the right wing of Marsin's cavalry fell back to avoid a flank attack, and left an interval in the centre of the line.

Tallard, perceiving his situation hopeless, made a desperate effort, not for victory, but for safety. He drew up the remainder of his cavalry, and the nearest squadrons of Marsin behind the tents, in a single line, with their right extended towards Blenheim, to extricate the infantry posted in the village, and dispatched an officer, with orders for its immediate evacuation. At the same time he sent messengers to the left, pressing his colleague either to support him with a reinforcement, or make an offensive movement, to divide the attention of his antagonists. But the mischief was irreparable. The elector and Marsin were too close pressed to comply with his request, and Marlborough, observing the weakness of his line, and the exposed situation of his right flank, saw that the decisive moment of victory had arrived. The trumpets sounded the charge, and the allied horse rushed forward with tremendous force. The hostile cavalry did not await the shock, but after a scattered volley, fled in the utmost dismay, the left towards Hochstadt, and the right, reduced to thirty squadrons, in the direction of Sonderheim. Marlborough instantly dispatched Hompesch, with thirty squadrons, in pursuit of the first, and himself, with the rest of the cavalry following the remainder, drove many down the declivity near Blenheim, into the Danube and the Schwanbach. Numbers were killed or taken in the rout, and many perished in the attempt to swim across the Danube.

Still, however, Marshal Tallard, and several of his principal officers, with a body of cavalry, who had followed them in the rout, remained near Sonderheim. Cut off on one side by the allied horse, and on the other, unwilling to encounter almost certain death by plunging into the Danube, they had no alternative but to submit to the fate of war. Tallard delivered his sword to the aide-de-camp of the prince of Hesse, and with him surrendered many officers of distinction. They were immediately conducted to the victorious commander,

and received with all the attention which was due to their character and misfortune.

During these events, Hompesch had continued to press on the broken squadrons of the retreating enemy. They attempted to rally, after crossing the Brunnen, near Diessenhofen; but on the approach of their pursuers, were seized with a panic, and fled towards Morselingen. At the same time, two battalions of infantry, who had formed with them, purchased their safety by yielding up their arms.

From the verge of the wood above Lutzengen, where Eugene had halted after his last attack, he witnessed the advance of his colleague, and the final charge, which ended in the wreck of Tallard's army. Observing the right of Marsin filing towards the rear, and the Bavarian infantry pouring into Lutzengen, he rightly judged that his opponents were preparing to retreat. He instantly renewed the conflict with the infantry, though supported by only two squadrons, and forced his way through the woods and ravines to Lutzengen. After an arduous struggle, his troops emerged into the plain, and he halted for the approach of the cavalry, who had pressed on the Bavarian horse in their retreat. The flames which burst forth at Oberglauh and Lutzengen, proved that the enemy had abandoned those places, and were hastening to withdraw from their perilous situation.

The attention of Marlborough was now turned to the movements of the elector and Marsin. Perceiving the advance of Eugene, and the conflagration of Oberglauh and Lutzengen, he recalled the cavalry of Hompesch, and joining them with additional squadrons, prepared to charge the enemy, who were rapidly filing in good order along the skirt of the wood towards Morselingen. Such an attack would probably have terminated in the utter ruin of their whole army, but it was prevented by one of those accidents which often occur in the confusion of battles. The troops of Eugene appeared behind those of the enemy, in a situation to bear on the flank of the victorious cavalry, and as the fall of night and the clouds of smoke which hung over the field, rendered the view indistinct, they were mistaken for a part of the electoral army. Marlborough therefore countermanded the order for harassing the

Gallo-Bavarians in their retreat; and though closely pursued by the cavalry of Eugene, they drew up under cover of the wood between Lutzingen and Morselingen. Having collected the remnant of the defeated wing, they fell back, on the approach of night, in the direction of Dillingen.

The fate of the day was no sooner decided, than Marlborough, taking from a pocket-book a slip of paper, wrote a hasty note to the duchess, announcing his victory.

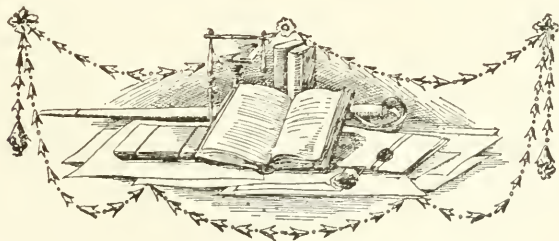
AUGUST 13, 1704.

I have not time to say more, but to beg you will give my duty to the queen, and let her know her army has had a glorious victory. M. Tallard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest. The bearer, my aide-de-camp, Colonel Parke, will give her an account of what has passed. I shall do it, in a day or two, by another more at large. MARLBOROUGH.

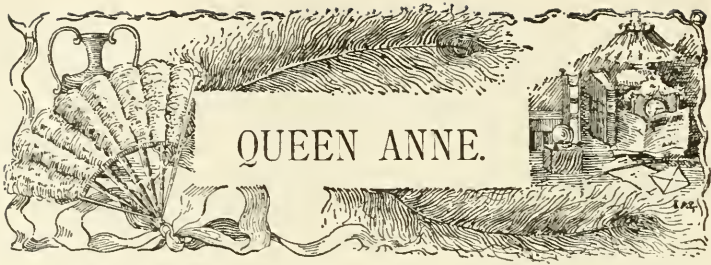
The fate of the troops posted in Blenheim still remained undecided. They had witnessed the event of the battle without making any attempt to escape, because the officer dispatched with the order had been prevented from reaching the village by the last fatal charge. Finding themselves insulated by the defeat of the cavalry, they used the utmost exertion to maintain their post to the last extremity. The commander, Monsieur de Clerambault, being lost in the Danube, they were left without a chief, and without orders, but awaited their destiny with a firmness which merited a better fate.

As soon as the plain was cleared, General Churchill led his infantry towards the rear of the village, and extended his right flank to the Danube; while General Meredith, with the queen's regiment, took possession of a small barrier which had been formed to preserve a communication along the bank with Hochstadt. These movements roused the enemy from a state of sullen desperation. They first attempted to escape by the rear of the village, and being repulsed, rushed towards the road leading to Sonderheim. Here they were again checked by the Scotch Greys, who were led forward to the crest of the acclivity by General Lumley. They finally attempted to emerge by the opening towards Oberglauch, when eight squadrons of horse, under General Ross, compelled them again to take refuge behind the houses and enclosures.

Though encompassed by inevitable perils, they obstinately maintained their post, and it became necessary to recur to a general attack on every accessible point of the village. Lord Cutts was ordered to occupy their attention on the side of the Nebel, while Lord Orkney, with eight battalions, attacked the church-yard, and General Ingoldsby, with four more, supported by the dragoons of Ross, endeavored to penetrate on the side of the opening towards Oberglauh. Several batteries, planted within musket shot, co-operated in these attacks, and one of the howitzers set fire to several houses and barns. A vigorous conflict appeared likely to ensue. But on one side the prospect of a sanguinary though successful attack, and on the other, of a fruitless, though destructive defence, induced the contending parties to spare the effusion of blood. A parley took place, and the French proposed a capitulation; but General Churchill, riding forward, insisted on an unconditional surrender. No resource remained; to resist was hopeless, to escape impossible. With despair and indignation, the troops submitted to their fate, and the regiment of Navarre, in particular, burned their colors, and buried their arms, that such trophies might not remain to grace the triumph of an enemy. Twenty-four battalions and twelve squadrons, with all their officers, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and thus closed the mighty struggle of this eventful day.—W. COXE.







QUEEN ANNE of England, the last sovereign of the House of Stuart, was intellectually feeble, yet her reign has been called the Augustan age of English literature, being adorned with the genius of Addison, Pope, Swift, Bolingbroke and many minor writers. It was also made illustrious by the military glories of Marlborough, and the dashing exploits of Peterborough. But these

glories belong to the nation rather than to the sovereign.

Anne Stuart was born on the 6th of February, 1664, and was the second daughter of James II., then Duke of York. Her mother was Anne Hyde, daughter of Lord Clarendon, the eminent statesman and historian of his own times. When Anne was seven years old her mother died, having previously professed her adherence to the Roman Catholic Church, in which step her husband followed her. The child, however, was, by the command of King Charles II., trained in the Church of England, to which she always continued to be zealously and even bigotedly attached. The favorite playmate of her childhood, Sarah Jennings, who afterwards became Lady Churchill, and then the Duchess of Marlborough, also exercised an irresistible power over the feeble mind of the princess, and ruled her absolutely for more than twenty years.

In July, 1683, Princess Anne was married to Prince George, of Denmark, an indolent, good-natured man, who cared for little but good eating and field sports. Lady Churchill was

made a lady of the bedchamber and had a handsome annuity settled upon her. Soon after James became king he made earnest efforts to convert Anne to the Roman faith, and offered to declare her in the line of succession to the throne before her elder sister Mary. But these attempts had little effect on Anne, though her husband George was attracted by the bait. When in 1688 James's queen, Mary of Modena, bore a son, Anne lent a ready ear to those who declared the child supposititious. Before the landing of the Prince of Orange, Prince George was pledged to join him, and as soon as he landed, Anne, with Lady Churchill, abandoned her father and welcomed the new ruler. Yet after the accession of William and Mary, Princess Anne found her presence at the court ungrateful, quarreled with her sister, and withdrew to a retired life. Under the influence of the Churchills, she opened up a correspondence with her father at St. Germain; but it had no marked effect on the course of events. Although Anne bore to her husband seventeen children, only one survived infancy, and that one died in 1700 at the age of eleven. An Act of Settlement was passed by Parliament placing the Electress of Hanover next after Anne in succession to the crown.

Anne became queen on the 8th of March, 1702. She promptly declared her purpose to pursue the same foreign policy as her predecessor, and to resist the domination of Louis XIV. in Europe. Personally, however, she exerted little influence upon public affairs. Her mind was chiefly taken up with the petty ceremonial of the court. But she was as obstinately desirous as any of her predecessors to enlarge the prerogatives of the crown. Throughout her reign there was a constant struggle between those statesmen who favored absolutism and legitimism, even to the extent of seeking the restoration of James II., and those who sought to establish the Protestant succession to the throne, with constitutional guarantees of the liberties of the subject against royal encroachments. The queen herself inclined to the former, and towards the end of her life sought to have her brother made her successor. While the Duchess of Marlborough retained her control of the queen, the principles of the Revolution were in the main confirmed.

The queen and her favorite in their confidential intercourse with each other dropped all ceremony and titles. Anne assumed the name of Mrs. Morley, and the duchess desired to be called Mrs. Freeman, as indicating the freedom with which she uttered her opinions. "In this grotesque friendship," says Macaulay, "all the loyalty, the patience, the self-devotion was on the side of the mistress. The whims, the haughty airs, the fits of ill-temper, were on the side of the waiting-woman."

The Duke of Marlborough had been restored to the chief command of the army before the death of William. When the Tories came fully into power, he found it expedient to declare himself a Tory. His chief ally, Lord Godolphin, was appointed Lord Treasurer. The English and allies, under the command of Marlborough, gained a decisive victory over the French at Blenheim in August, 1704. In the revival of patriotic spirit, a Whig majority was returned to Parliament in 1705, and Marlborough and Godolphin opened friendly communications with the Whig leaders. Marlborough gained another victory over the French at Ramillies in May, 1706.

In 1707 the Union of Scotland with England was effected on condition that Scotland should maintain her own church, and her own law. Henceforth Anne as sovereign was styled Queen of Great Britain. Power passed gradually into the hands of the Whig ministers. The Duke of Sunderland, Marlborough's son-in-law, became secretary of state in 1706, although Anne opposed his promotion. By the end of 1708 the ministry became completely Whig, and Marlborough and Godolphin avowed themselves to be Whigs.

Finally the queen came to realize her dependency, and grew weary of the arrogant temper of the Duchess of Marlborough. She desired also to strengthen the Tory party, as the firm upholders of the church and state, and as more disposed to acknowledge her brother's title to the throne. She therefore transferred her attachment to a new favorite, Mrs. Masham, a cousin of Harley, who favored the Tories. In September, 1709, the English and the allies attacked the French army at Malplaquet, and claimed the victory, though they lost 20,000 men, and the French lost about 12,000.

The English people, wearied of the burden of a war which

gave them glorious victories, but no increase of power, gave the Tories a majority in the House of Commons elected in 1710, and a Tory ministry was formed, of which Harley and Saint John were the chief ministers. They soon opened secret negotiations for peace with France, on the basis of leaving Spain to Philip V. The long war of the Spanish succession was terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, March 31, 1713. England obtained the largest share of the material advantages of the peace, whilst she lost credit by her ill-faith. By this treaty the Tory ministers helped the trading class, which was the main support of the Whigs, while the landed gentry, on whom their own power mainly rested, received no benefit. At the end of the war England was the greatest maritime power, and the increase of this power increased the influence of the commercial class.

The Tories were confronted by another difficulty, owing to the queen's having no direct heirs. Sophia, the legal heir, and her son George, Elector of Hanover, were both favorable to the Whigs. Anne wished her exiled half-brother, the Pretender, to be her successor, and she co-operated with her ministers in secret intrigues to secure the throne for him. If he had changed his religion, and avowed himself a Protestant, an effort would probably have been made to place him on the throne. By his refusal to change his religion the Tories were split into hostile parties. In July, 1714, St. John, now Lord Bolingbroke, a partisan of the Pretender, became chief minister. But the plans of the Jacobites were disconcerted by the sudden death of Anne, who died August 1, 1714, and the prompt action of the Whig leaders. George, the Elector of Hanover, therefore succeeded peaceably to the throne of England.

#### THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

In order to adjust the character of the proposed union-treaty, commissioners for both kingdoms were appointed to make a preliminary inquiry and report upon the articles which ought to be adopted as the foundation of the measure, and which report was afterwards to be subjected to the legislatures of both kingdoms.



The English and Scottish commissioners, being both chosen by the queen—that is, by Godolphin and the queen's ministers—were indeed taken from different parties, but carefully selected, so as to preserve a majority of those who could be reckoned upon as friendly to the treaty, and who would be sure to do their utmost to remove such obstacles as might arise in the discussion.

The Scottish commissioners, after a vain struggle, were compelled to submit to an incorporating union, as that would alone ensure the purposes of combining England and Scotland into one single nation, to be governed in its political measures by the same Parliament. It was agreed that in contributing to the support of the general expenses of the kingdom, Scotland should pay a certain proportion of taxes, which were adjusted by calculation. But in consideration that the Scots, whose revenue, though small, was unencumbered, must therefore become liable for a share of the debt which England had incurred since the Revolution, a large sum of ready money was to be advanced to Scotland as an equivalent for that burden; which sum, however, was to be repaid to England gradually from the Scottish revenue. The English statesmen also consented, with no great scruple, that Scotland should retain her own national Presbyterian Church, her own system of civil and municipal laws, which is in many important respects totally different from that of England, and her own courts for the administration of justice. The only addition to her judicial establishment was the erection of the court of exchequer in Scotland, to decide in fiscal matters, and which follows the English forms.

But the treaty was nearly broken off when the English announced that, in the Parliament of the United Kingdoms, Scotland should only enjoy a representation equal to one-thirteenth of the whole number. The proposal was received by the Scottish commissioners with a burst of surprise and indignation. It was loudly urged that a kingdom resigning her ancient independence, should at least obtain in the great national council a representation bearing the same proportion the population of Scotland did to that of England, which was one to six. If this rule, which seems the fairest that could be



found, had been adopted, Scotland would have sent sixty-six members to the united Parliament. But the English refused peremptorily to consent to the admission of more than forty-five at the very utmost; and the Scottish commissioners were bluntly and decisively informed that they must either acquiesce in this proposal, or declare the treaty at an end. With more prudence, perhaps, than spirit, the majority of the commissioners chose to yield the point rather than run the risk of frustrating the union entirely.

The Scottish peerage were to preserve all the other privileges of their rank; but their right of sitting in parliament, and acting as hereditary legislators, was to be greatly limited. Only sixteen of their number were to enjoy seats in the British House of Lords, and these were to be chosen by election from the whole body. Such peers as were amongst the number of commissioners were induced to consent to this degradation of their order by the assurance that they themselves should be created British peers, so as to give them personally, by charter, the right which the sixteen could only acquire by election.

The loss and disgrace to be sustained by the ancient kingdom, which had so long defended her liberty and independence against England, were common to all her children; and should Scotland at this crisis voluntarily surrender her rank among nations, for no immediate advantages that could be anticipated, excepting such as might be obtained by private individuals who had votes to sell and consciences that permitted them to traffic in such ware, each inhabitant of Scotland must have his share in the apprehended dishonor. Perhaps, too, those felt it most who, having no estates or wealth to lose, claimed yet a share, with the greatest and the richest, in the honor of their common country.

The feelings of national pride were inflamed by those of national prejudice and resentment. The Scottish people complained that they were not only required to surrender their public rights, but to yield them up to the very nation who had been most malevolent to them in all respects; who had been their constant enemies during a thousand years of almost continual war; and who, even since they were united

under the same crown, had shown, in the massacre of Glencoe and the disasters of Darien, at what a slight price they held the lives and rights of their northern neighbors. The hostile measures adopted by the English Parliament,—their declarations against the Scottish trade,—their preparations for war on the border,—were all circumstances which envenomed the animosities of the people of Scotland; while the general training, which had taken place under the act of security, made them confident in their own military strength, and disposed to stand their ground at all hazards.

Moved by anxiety, doubt, and apprehension, an unprecedented confluence of people, of every rank, sex, and age, thronged to Edinburgh from all corners of Scotland, to attend the meeting of the Union Parliament, which met on the 3d of October, 1706.

The Parliament was divided, generally speaking, into three parties. The first was composed of the courtiers or followers of government, determined at all events to carry through the union, on the terms proposed by the commissioners. This party was led by the Duke of Queensberry, lord high commissioner, a person of talents and accomplishments, and great political address, who had filled the highest situations during the last reigns. He was assisted by the Earl of Mar, secretary of state, who was suspected to be naturally much disposed to favor the exiled family of Stuart; but who, sacrificing his political principles to love of power or of emolument, was deeply concerned in the underhand and private management by which the union was carrying through. But the most active agent in the treaty was the Viscount Stair, long left out of administration on account of his share in the scandalous massacre of Glencoe and the affair of Darien. He was raised to an earldom in 1703, and was highly trusted and employed by Lord Godolphin and the English administration. This statesman, by his address, eloquence, and talents, contributed greatly to accomplish the union, and gained on that account, from a great majority of his displeased countrymen, the popular nickname of the "Curse of Scotland."

The party opposing the union consisted of those who were attached to the Jacobite interest, joined with the country

party, who, like Fletcher of Saltoun, resisted the treaty, not on the grounds of the succession to the crown, but as destructive of the national independence of the kingdom. They were headed by the Duke of Hamilton, the premier peer of Scotland, an excellent speaker, and admirably qualified to act as the head of a party in ordinary times, but possessed of such large estates as rendered him unwilling to take any decisive steps by which his property might be endangered. To this it seems to have been owing that the more decided and effectual measures, by which alone the union treaty might have been defeated, though they often seemed to gain his approbation for a time, never had his hearty or effectual support in the end.

There was a third party, greatly smaller than either of the others, but which secured to themselves a degree of consequence by keeping together, and affecting to act independently of the rest, from which they were termed the *squadrone volante*. They were headed by the Marquis of Tweeddale, and consisted of the members of an administration of which the marquis had been the head, but which were turned out of office to make way for the Duke of Queensberry and the present ruling party. These discontented politicians were neither favorers of the court, which had dismissed them, nor of the opposition party.

The unpopularity of the proposed measure throughout Scotland in general was soon made evident by the temper of the people of Edinburgh. The citizens of the better class exclaimed against the favorers of the union as willing to surrender the sovereignty of Scotland to her ancient rival, whilst the populace stated the same idea in a manner more obvious to their gross capacities, and cried out that the Scottish crown, sceptre and sword were about to be transferred to England, as they had been in the time of the usurper, Edward Longshanks.

On the 23d of October the popular fury was at its height. The people crowded together in High Street and Parliament Square, and greeted their representatives as friends or enemies to their country, according as they opposed or favored the union. The commissioner was bitterly reviled and hooted at,

while, in the evening of the day, several hundred persons escorted the Duke of Hamilton to his lodgings, encouraging him by loud huzzas to stand by the cause of national independence. The rabble next assailed the house of the lord provost, destroyed the windows and broke open the doors, and threatened him with instant death as a favorer of the obnoxious treaty.

Other acts of riot were committed, which were not ultimately for the advantage of the anti-unionists, since they were assigned as reasons for introducing strong bodies of troops into the city. These mounted guard in the principal streets, and the commissioner dared only pass to his coach through a lane of soldiers under arms, and was then driven to his lodgings in the Canongate amidst repeated volleys of stones and roars of execration. The Duke of Hamilton continued to have his escort of shouting apprentices, who attended him home every evening.

But the posting of the guards overawed opposition both within and without the Parliament, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the opposition party, that it was an encroachment both on the privileges of the city of Edinburgh and of the Parliament itself, the hall of meeting continued to be surrounded by a military force.

The temper of the kingdom of Scotland at large was equally unfavorable to the treaty of union with that of the capital. Addresses against the measure were poured into the house of Parliament from the several shires, counties, burghs, towns and parishes. Men, otherwise the most opposed to each other, Whig and Tory, Jacobite and Williamite, Presbyterian, Episcopalian and Cameronian, all agreed in expressing their detestation of the treaty, and imploring the estates of Parliament to support and preserve entire the sovereignty and independence of the crown and kingdom, with the rights and privileges of parliament, valiantly maintained through so many ages, so that the succeeding generations might receive them unimpaired; in which good cause the petitioners offered to concur with life and fortune. While addresses of this description loaded the table of the Parliament, the promoters of the union could only procure from a few persons in the town of Ayr a

single address in favor of the measure, which was more than overbalanced by one of an opposite tendency, signed by a very large majority of the inhabitants of the same burgh.

The unionists, secure in their triumphant majorities, treated these addresses with scorn. The Duke of Argyle said, they were only fit to be made kites of, while the Earl of Marchmont proposed to reject them as seditious, and, as he alleged, got up collusively, and expressing the sense of a party rather than of the nation. To this it was boldly answered by Sir James Foulis, of Colington, that, if the authenticity of the addresses were challenged, he had no doubt that the parties subscribing would attend the right honorable house in person, and enforce their petitions by their presence. This was an alarming suggestion, and ended the debate.

Amongst these addresses against the union, there was one from the Commission of the General Assembly, which was supposed to speak the sentiments of most of the clergymen of the Church of Scotland, who saw great danger to the Presbyterian Church from the measure under deliberation. But much of the heat of the clergy's opposition was taken off by the Parliament's passing an act for the security of the Church of Scotland as by law established at the Revolution, and making this declaration an integral part of the treaty of union. This cautionary measure seems to have been deemed sufficient; and although some presbyteries sent addresses against the union, and many ministers continued to preach violently on the subject, yet the great body of the clergy ceased to vex themselves and others with the alarming tendency of the measure, so far as religion and church discipline were concerned.

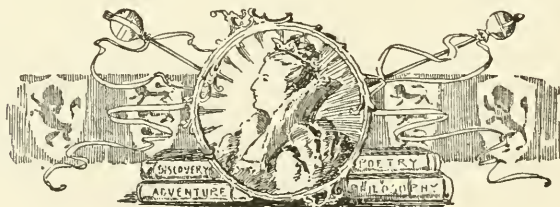
Almost the only remarkable change in the articles of the union, besides that relating to church government, was made to quiet the minds of the common people, disturbed, as I have already mentioned, by rumors that the Scottish regalia were to be sent into England. A special article was inserted into the treaty, declaring that they should on no occasion be removed from Scotland. At the same time, lest the sight of these symbols of national sovereignty should irritate the jealous feelings of the Scottish people, they were removed from

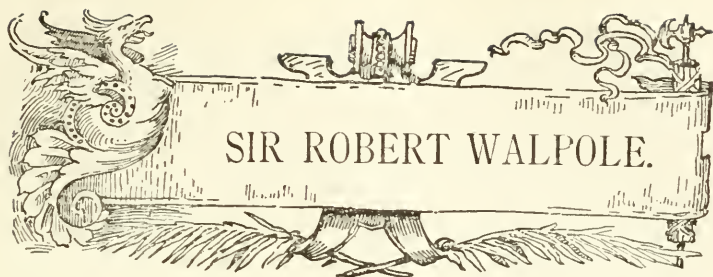


the public view, and secured in a strong chamber, called the crown-room, in the castle of Edinburgh, where they remained so long in obscurity, that their very existence was generally doubted. But King George IV. having directed that a commission should be issued to search after these venerable relics, they were found in safety in the place where they had been deposited, and are now made visible to the public under proper precautions.

It had been expected that the treaty of union would have met with delays or alterations in the English Parliament. But it was approved of there, after very little debate, by a large majority; and the exemplification or copy was sent down to be registered by the Scottish Parliament. This was done on the 25th of March; and on the 22d of April, the Parliament of Scotland adjourned forever. Seafield, the chancellor, on an occasion which every Scotsman ought to have considered as a melancholy one, behaved himself with a brutal levity, which in more patriotic times would have cost him his life on the spot, and said that "there was an end of an auld sang."

On the 1st of May, 1707, the union took place, amid the dejection and despair which attend on the downfall of an ancient state, and under a sullen expression of discontent, that was far from promising the course of prosperity which the treaty finally produced.—SIR W. SCOTT.





SIR ROBERT WALPOLE was the first actual Prime Minister of England, in the modern sense of that term, and during the twenty years of his administration the country enjoyed peace and prosperity. He gave to the English government that character of lenity which it has since generally preserved. In his old age he became Earl of Orford, but is known in history by his former name.

He was born at Houghton, in Norfolk, on the 26th of August, 1676, and was a younger son of Robert Walpole, then a member of Parliament. He was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, quitting the latter in May, 1698. He was intended for the church; but at the age of twenty-two, by the death of his elder brother, he became heir to a large estate. He thus obtained, it has been said, a double advantage—the inheritance of an elder and the application of a younger son. He was elected to Parliament in 1701, and attached himself to the Whig Party. In 1702 he was returned for King's Lynn, which he represented until he passed into the House of Peers. He proved himself an able debater, and a skillful parliamentary tactician. In 1708 he was appointed Secretary of War, and was thus brought into direct contact with Marlborough.

The Whig ministry was driven from power in September, 1710, and fifteen months later the Tory majority accused Walpole of corruption, expelled him from the House, and im-

prisoned him in the Tower. This severity raised his reputation among the Whigs, who considered him a martyr. He was released at the end of the session, after some months' imprisonment. On the accession of George I., in August, 1714, Walpole obtained favor and influence at court. In converse with the new king, who knew no English, Latin was the medium of intercourse. In June, 1715, Walpole returned upon the Tories the treatment he had experienced at their hands, and impeached Bolingbroke of high treason in the House of Commons. But the accused went into voluntary exile. Walpole was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. At this time Lord Townshend, his friend and brother-in-law, was the chief minister. When Townshend was removed from office, two years later, Walpole resigned, though the king urged him to remain in office. His influence with the House of Commons and his reputation with the public had steadily risen. His talents were eminently practical and fit for the conduct of great affairs. He opposed the South Sea Bill, in 1720, and after the bursting of the South Sea Bubble, by which thousands of families were ruined, the task of forming a scheme to meet the public difficulty was assigned to him by general consent. Walpole was then made first lord of the treasury, and soon restored public credit, in that perilous and perplexing crisis. His ability as a financier gave him credit with the trading classes, who prospered under his administration.

Up to this time the king's ministers were all regarded as equal among themselves. It was Walpole's chief contribution to the constitutional progress of England, that he created the prime ministership in his own person. The death of his rivals, Stanhope and Sunderland, left him master of the field, so that he was supported by a large majority of Parliament. Walpole took for his motto, "*Quieta non movere.*" His aim was to maintain peace with foreign powers and to promote prosperity in his own country. The twenty years of his administration afford comparatively few incidents to history. He gave the country needed rest, and did not aspire to change or improve any laws or institutions. But the Jacobites and Tories, despairing of victories in Parliament, turned their

minds to projects of conspiracy or hopes of invasion. Bishop Atterbury was convicted of plotting to restore the Stuart family to the throne, and was banished in 1723.

A treaty of defensive alliance between England, France, and Prussia was made in September, 1725, and was called the treaty of Hanover. According to the king's desire, the chief English negotiator of this treaty was Townshend. Walpole was displeased to find this important transaction almost solely conducted by a colleague. He was determined, according to his own phrase, that the firm should be Walpole and Townshend, and not Townshend and Walpole. He was rewarded with the Garter in 1726.

On the death of George I., in June, 1727, Walpole found a constant and useful friend in Queen Caroline, who had great influence over George II. She persuaded George to re-appoint Walpole to the office of prime minister. She was more popular than the king, and her conduct was marked by discretion and good sense. In November, 1729, the English government negotiated the treaty of Seville, which was a defensive alliance between England, France, and Spain, and was advantageous to England. Walpole continued to share power with Townshend until May, 1730, when they quarreled, and the latter resigned office. Walpole is censured for proscribing the eminent men of his own party, and driving them into opposition. Nearly all the eminent writers of the time were opposed to him. He despised or depreciated literature, and did not patronize literary men. In 1737 he opposed with success Sir John Barnard's plan for a reduction of the interest on the national debt. Frederic, Prince of Wales, quarreled with his father and began to support the opposition party. This quarrel between the king and his son tended, however, to strengthen the dynasty; for many Tories who had favored the Stuarts saw a safer avenue to power open in the favor of Frederic. In 1739 Walpole was induced by popular clamor and the royal will to declare war against Spain. His own judgment condemned the war as impolitic, but he consented to a pernicious policy rather than lose his office and power. Finally a combination of opponents, including Carteret, Pulteney, Pitt and Chesterfield, defeated the great manager of

Parliament, and he resigned office in February, 1742. He was then created Earl of Orford. Thereafter he usually signed his letters simply O, signifying that he was nothing. He died in March, 1745, leaving three sons, the most noted of whom was the literary dilettante, Horace Walpole.

Burke says of Sir Robert Walpole, "His prudence, steadiness and vigilance, joined to the greatest possible lenity in his character and in his politics, preserved the crown to this royal family, and with it their laws and liberties to this country."

#### WALPOLE, THE PEACE MINISTER.

It was no mere chance or good luck which maintained Walpole at the head of affairs for more than twenty years. If no minister has fared worse at the hand of poets or historians, there are few whose greatness has been more impartially recognized by practical statesmen. His qualities, indeed, were such as practical statesmen can alone do full justice to. There is nothing to charm in the outer aspect of the man; nor is there anything picturesque in the work which he set himself to do, or in the means by which he succeeded in doing it. But picturesque or no, the work of keeping England quiet, and of giving quiet to Europe, was in itself a noble one; and it is the temper with which he carried on this work, the sagacity with which he discerned the means by which alone it could be done, and the stubborn, indomitable will with which he faced every difficulty in the doing it, which gives Walpole his place among English statesmen. He was the first and he was the most successful of our peace ministers. "The most pernicious circumstances," he said, "in which this country can be are those of war, as we must be losers while it lasts, and cannot be great gainers when it ends." It was not that the honor or influence of England suffered in Walpole's hands, for he won victories by the firmness of his policy and the skill of his negotiations as effectual as any that are won by arms. But up to the very end of his ministry, when the frenzy of the nation at last forced his hand, in spite of every varying complication of foreign affairs, and a never-ceasing pressure alike from the opposition and the court, it is the glory of Walpole that he resolutely kept



England at peace. And as he was the first of our peace ministers, so he was the first of our financiers. He was far indeed from discerning the powers which later statesmen have shown to exist in a sound finance—powers of producing both national development and international amity; but he had the sense to see, what no minister till then had seen, that the only help a statesman can give to industry or commerce is to remove all obstacles in the way of their natural growth, and that beyond this the best course he can take in presence of a great increase in national energy and national wealth is to look quietly on and to let it alone. At the outset of his rule he declared in a speech from the throne that nothing would more conduce to the extension of commerce “than to make the exportation of our own manufactures, and the importation of the commodities used in the manufacturing of them, as practicable and easy as may be.”

The first act of his financial administration was to take off the duties from more than a hundred British exports, and nearly forty articles of importation. In 1730 he broke, in the same enlightened spirit, through the prejudice which restricted the commerce of the colonies to the mother country alone, by allowing Georgia and the Carolinas to export their rice directly to any part of Europe. The result was, that the rice of America soon drove that of Italy and Egypt from the market. His excise bill, defective as it was, was the first measure in which an English minister showed any real grasp of the principles of taxation. The wisdom of Walpole was rewarded by a quick up-growth of prosperity. The material progress of the country was such as England had never seen before. Our exports, which were only six millions in value at the beginning of the century, had reached the value of twelve millions by the middle of it. It was, above all, the trade with the colonies which began to give England a new wealth. The whole colonial trade at the time of the battle of Blenheim (1704), was no greater than the trade with the single isle of Jamaica at the opening of the American war. At the accession of George the Second the exports to Pennsylvania were valued at £15,000. At his death they reached half a million. In the middle of the eighteenth century the profits

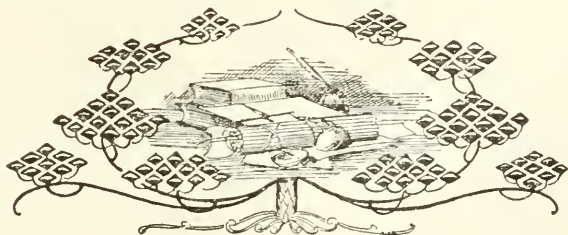
of Great Britain from the trade with the colonies were estimated at two millions a year. And with the growth of wealth came a quick growth in population. That of Manchester and Birmingham, whose manufactures were now becoming of importance, doubled in thirty years. Bristol, the chief seat of the West Indian trade, rose into new prosperity. Liverpool, which owes its creation to the new trade with the West, sprang up from a little country town into the third port of the kingdom. With peace and security, and the wealth that they brought with them, the value of land, and with it the rental of every country gentleman, rose fast. "Estates which were rented at two thousand a year threescore years ago," said Burke, in 1766, "are at three thousand at present."

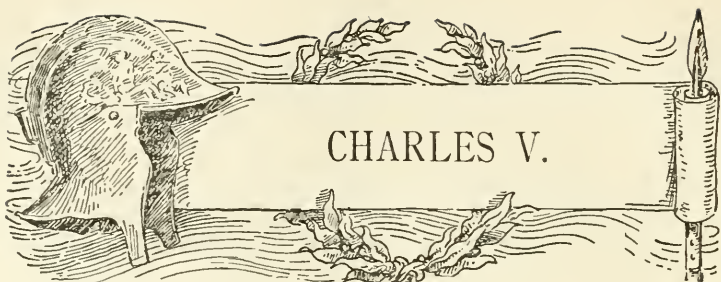
Nothing shows more clearly the soundness of his political intellect than the fact that this up-growth of wealth around him never made Walpole swerve from a rigid economy, from a steady reduction of the debt, or a diminution of fiscal duties. Even before the death of George the First the public burdens were reduced by twenty millions. It was, indeed, in economy alone that his best work could be done. In finance, as in other fields of statesmanship, Walpole was forbidden from taking more than tentative steps toward a wiser system by the needs of the work he had specially to do. To this work everything gave way. He withdrew his excise bill rather than suffer the agitation it roused to break the quiet which was reconciling the country to the system of the Revolution. His hatred of religious intolerance, or the support he hoped for from the dissenters, never swayed him to rouse the spirit of popular bigotry, which he knew to be ready to burst out at the slightest challenge, by any effort to repeal the laws against nonconformity. His temper was naturally vigorous and active, and yet the years of his power are years without parallel in our annals for political stagnation. His long administration, indeed, is almost without a history. All legislative and political action seemed to cease with his entry into office. Year after year passed by without a change. In the third year of Walpole's ministry there was but one division in the House of Commons. Such an inaction gives little

scope for the historian ; but it fell in with the temper of the nation at large. It was popular with the class which commonly presses for political activity. The energy of the trading class was absorbed, for the time, in the rapid extension of commerce and the accumulation of wealth. So long as the country was justly and temperately governed, the merchant and shopkeeper were content to leave government in the hands that held it. All they asked was to be let alone to enjoy their new freedom and develop their new industries. And Walpole let them alone.

On the other hand, the forces which opposed the Revolution lost, year by year, somewhat of their energy. The fervor which breeds revolt died down among the Jacobites as their swords rusted idly in their scabbards. The Tories sulked in their country houses ; but their wrath against the house of Hanover ebbed away for want of opportunities of exerting itself. And, meanwhile, on opponents as on friends, the freedom which the Revolution had brought with it was doing its work.

It was to the patient influence of this freedom that Walpole trusted ; and it was the special mark of his administration that, in spite of every temptation, he gave it full play. Though he dared not touch the laws that oppressed the Catholic or the dissenter, he took care that they should remain inoperative. Catholic worship went on unhindered. Yearly bills of indemnity exempted the non-conformists from the consequences of their infringement of the test act. There was no tampering with public justice or with personal liberty. Thought and action were alike left free. No minister was ever more foully slandered by journalists and pamphleteers, but Walpole never meddled with the press.—J. R. GREEN.





CHARLES V., Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, was born at Ghent, February 24, 1500. He was the son of Philip, Archduke of Austria, and Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon. His education was entrusted to William de Croy, Lord of

Chièvres, who engaged Adrian, of Utrecht, as his tutor. In his youth he did not display any remarkable talents, but his graceful person and manly address ingratiated him with those around him. In 1516, on the death of his grandfather, Ferdinand, Charles assumed the title of King of Spain; but the actual management of affairs in that kingdom was committed to the famous Cardinal Ximenes, whose chief policy was to break down the power of the nobles, and to exalt the authority of the Crown. By his advice, the young king resolved to pay a visit to his Spanish dominions; and, that he might do it with safety, his ministers put an end to a war with France which had been waged for some years by Maximilian and Ferdinand. In 1517, Charles embarked from the Low Countries, where his boyhood had been spent, for Spain.

On landing at Villa Viciosa, Charles was received by his Spanish subjects with the greatest demonstrations of joy. In the early part of 1519, the Emperor Maximilian died, and the succession of the empire became an object of contention between the two most powerful monarchs of Europe, Charles and Francis I. of France. Then commenced that personal

rivalry between them, which was long the leading feature of European politics. In this competition Charles was finally successful. He was unanimously elected emperor, in June, 1519, and the fact was made known to him while holding the Cortes of Catalonia. The remainder of his stay in Spain was disturbed by insurrections and violent opposition to his demands. When his ministers had calmed these disturbances to the best of their ability, Charles embarked for the Low Countries, in May, 1520. On his voyage he touched at Dover, England, and had an interview with Henry VIII., and was successful, not only in obtaining the king's favor, but in winning his ambitious minister, Wolsey, by the promise of advancement to the papal throne.

The progress of the Reformation in Germany demanded the first attention of the emperor after his coronation. In 1521, a Diet was held at Worms, at which Luther, armed with a safe-conduct, pleaded his cause before two hundred august judges, with his characteristic firmness. The result was that Charles determined to become the upholder of the Church, and immediately, on Luther's departure, issued a rescript against him, stigmatizing him as "the evil fiend in human form," and "the blasphemer," and putting him under the ban of the empire. But Luther was secluded by his powerful friends in the castle of Wartburg.

Francis I. of France, burning with envy that his rival should have obtained the imperial crown, sought revenge in a war, which commenced in 1521 and continued till 1525, when Francis was utterly defeated before Pavia, and was obliged to yield himself a prisoner. At the news of this success, Charles affected all the moderation of a Christian hero. He lamented the misfortune of the captive monarch, forbade all public rejoicing on account of the victory, and seemed only interested in it as it gave him an opportunity of putting an end to the calamities of war. At the same time he laid his plans for improving his advantage to the utmost extent. He proposed to Francis terms of such rigor, that the spirited king vowed that he would pass his life in captivity rather than comply with them. The royal captive was then taken to Madrid, where he was treated with studied



harshness; but when he became seriously ill, Charles condescended to pay him a visit. The negotiations were spun out to considerable length, till Charles, apprehensive of the effect of extreme persistence, reduced the harsh terms originally proposed. The treaty of Madrid was signed in January, 1526, yet even its terms were sufficiently humiliating to Francis, who not only agreed to renounce all his pretensions in Italy, Flanders and Artois, but also, after he should be liberated, to restore to Charles the Duchy of Burgundy with all its dependencies.

Soon after the conclusion of this important business, Charles married Isabella, the sister of the King of Portugal, with whom he always lived in perfect harmony. Henry VIII., of England, was disappointed that his daughter, Mary, had not been made empress. Charles was now become so formidable as to arouse the jealousy of all his neighbors. The league of the Italian States against him was headed by Pope Clement VII. But this coalition was quickly avenged by the sack of Rome by the Constable Bourbon, in May, 1527, and soon after Clement surrendered himself a prisoner. Charles professed to receive the news as a public calamity, disavowed all knowledge of Bourbon's design, put himself and court in mourning, and even ordered prayers and processions for the recovery of the pope's liberty, when all Europe knew that the emperor had only to speak the word and it would be obeyed. This, however, he soon did, and recalled his army from Rome.

A new league was formed against him by England and France. Henry VIII. challenged Charles to single combat, in consequence of his contemptuous treatment of the herald, whom he had sent to declare war. Hostilities were at length concluded by the treaty of Cambray, in 1529, in which the emperor gained the chief advantage for himself, while attending also to the interests of his friends and allies. Francis, on the other hand, with very little ceremony, abandoned his Italian allies to his rival's resentment.

The affairs of Germany, and especially its religious dissensions, next occupied the attention of the emperor. At the Diet held at Augsburg, in March, 1530, he took extraordinary

pains to reconcile the conflicting parties, but without success. In consequence, he issued a severe decree against the Protestants, who then combined for defence in the famous League of Schmalkald. The emperor's attempt to get his brother, Ferdinand, elected King of the Romans, succeeded, notwithstanding the opposition of the Protestants. Charles, however, showed a spirit of moderation towards the Lutherans, when not inconsistent with his engagements to the Pope and the Catholics, of which indulgence they were so sensible, that when he raised an army to oppose the Sultan Solymán's invasion of Hungary, the Protestants sent to it more than their quota. In the campaign in Hungary, in 1532, Charles, for the first time, put himself at the head of his forces, and though no memorable event ensued, the retreat of Solymán to his own dominions was a confession of inferiority.

Again, in 1535, Charles undertook an expedition, the chief purpose of which seems to have been to throw a lustre about his personal character as a warrior and conqueror. Hayraddin Barbarossa, a daring corsair, son of a Greek renegade, had made himself Dey of Algiers, and carried on depredations upon the Christian states of the Mediterranean. The King of Tunis, whom he had driven out, applied for assistance to Charles. The emperor was desirous of rescuing Christendom from a troublesome foe, and resolved to invade the dominions of Barbarossa. Having fitted out a fleet of 500 vessels, with 30,000 troops on board, he set sail in July, 1535, and arriving off the Fort Goletta, assaulted and took it by storm. He then landed, advanced into the country, defeated Barbarossa's army, and marched on Tunis. A deputation from the town waited upon him; but while they were treating on the terms of capitulation, the imperial troops burst in and began to plunder and massacre without distinction. This instance of military licentiousness, which Charles could not prevent, tarnished the lustre of his victory. The exiled king was restored, and a favorable treaty negotiated with him. Charles returned to Europe with 20,000 Christians whom he had released from slavery.

The next year, in consequence of the French king's renewal of hostilities in Italy, Charles visited Rome, and

made an oration before the pope and cardinals in full consistory. He enumerated his own attempts to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, and those of his rival to disturb it, and concluded with the extraordinary proposal of settling their difficulties in single combat, on an island, a bridge, or a galley, for the pledge of the Duchy of Burgundy on the one side, and that of Milan on the other. On the next day, however, it was explained that the challenge was rather a figure of rhetoric than a serious proposal. Charles was in earnest, however, with regard to an invasion of France. Entering Provence with a powerful army, he caused Marseilles and Arles to be invested, and himself advanced on Avignon, where Montmorency had a defensive force. But the prudent conduct of that chief, with the desolate and ruined state of the country, obliged the emperor to retire with the loss of half his army by disease and famine. A subsequent invasion of Picardy had no better success. These hostilities were concluded by a suspension of arms in 1537, which was soon followed by a truce for ten years.

An insurrection in Ghent, Charles's native city, caused him, in 1539, to communicate with Francis, expressing his desire to pass from Spain through France, as the nearest road to the Netherlands. He also hinted that the favor of complying with this request would induce him to settle the affairs of the Milanese to his satisfaction. The French king instantly consented, and gave orders for his reception in every part with all possible honor. Charles, who knew the character of his rival, resolved to rely entirely on his generosity and good faith, and would accept of no pledge or hostage. He passed six days with him in Paris, where they showed to each other all the cordiality and generous confidence of persons who had lived in uninterrupted friendship. Francis afterward accompanied him to the frontier, and they parted with every expression of regard. Charles, however, when in his own territories, did not perform his promise respecting Milan; he was more ready to avail himself of his rival's superior generosity than to emulate it. The insurrection in Ghent was soon reduced, and the citizens were treated with great severity.

In 1541 the emperor undertook another African expedi-

tion. It was directed against Algiers, governed by Hascen Aga, a renegade of great talent in war, who even surpassed Barbarossa in the boldness of his piratical and predatory exploits. Charles, contrary to the advice of his admiral, Andrew Doria, set sail at a tempestuous season. The large fleet had great difficulty in reaching the coast of Algiers and landing the troops, but this was only the prelude to a series of disasters. A violent hurricane arose, which so disconcerted his men that they were repulsed by an inferior enemy with considerable loss. His fleet, meantime, encountering the utmost fury of the storm, was partly wrecked and many of the crews perished. The remainder were obliged to seek a safer anchorage. It became necessary for Charles to make an immediate retreat from before Algiers, with all his sick and wounded, and begin a three days' march to Cape Metsfuz, where the fleet was then stationed. Fatigue, famine and tempest accompanied the fugitives. The emperor himself, after escaping great dangers, arrived in Spain, with his fleet and army in a deplorable condition.

Notwithstanding the apparent cordiality between Charles and Francis, the latter renewed the war in 1542, probably moved by indignation at having been cheated in the Milanese affair, but using as a pretext the murder of two of his ambassadors by the Marquis del Guasto, the emperor's governor in Italy. Francis formed an alliance with the Sultan Solymán, while Charles made a league with Henry VIII., and courted the German Protestants. After Francis had won a brilliant victory at Cerisoles, while the emperor penetrated to the heart of Champagne, the two rulers, in 1544, made a peace at Crespy, which, as usual, was advantageous to Charles.

The Protestant party in Germany had acquired such extensive power, that the emperor's authority was greatly circumscribed by it, and, therefore, exclusive of zeal for religion, he had political motives to induce him to attempt their humiliation. He began with insisting on their submission to the decrees of the Council of Trent, which was then in session. When the Protestants disclaimed all connection with that assembly, in which they had no voice, the emperor prepared to employ open force to effect his purpose. A treaty

was made with the pope, and his other measures were nearly ripe for execution, when, in 1546, the Protestant princes, alarmed for their safety, anticipated him by taking the field with a large army. Charles, taken by surprise, only saved himself by a pretended negotiation. Then he put their leaders, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, under the ban of the empire, assembled troops from all quarters, and, by gaining over Prince Maurice of Saxony, was enabled to break up the Protestant league and reduce to submission most of the princes who composed it.

In 1547 Francis died, and Charles, being thus freed from his troublesome rival, marched at once against the Elector of Saxony, who still remained in arms. At the battle of Mulhausen the emperor entirely defeated the elector and took him prisoner. Charles treated his captive with unusual rigor; caused him to be tried and convicted of treason and rebellion by a court-martial of foreign officers, and only commuted the penalty of death for that of imprisonment for life, after the captive had resigned his dominions and electoral dignity, which were bestowed on Maurice. Charles likewise exercised the rights of conquest by arbitrary exactions throughout the German States, in which he spared his friends as little as his foes. But he refused to have this war considered as a religious one; he punished the delinquents as rebels to his imperial authority, not as heretics. At the Diet held at Augsburg, the emperor established a temporary system of doctrines, called the "Interim," which was to serve as the rule of faith and practice, till a final decision could be obtained. All the articles of it were fundamentally Roman Catholic, though somewhat softened in expression, and modified by some slight concessions. It was disapproved by both parties, but none dared oppose the will of a sovereign grown too powerful for control. He had now risen to the zenith of his power and prosperity.

Maurice of Saxony, who had been the chief cause of his success against the Protestant League, began to plot against him. The reasons of this change were a lingering regard for liberty and the Protestant religion, and also the emperor's treatment of his father-in-law, the Landgrave of Hesse, whom



no remonstrances could induce him to liberate. Maurice acted his own part with such cunning, that he was appointed general of the army which was to compel the city of Magdeburg to receive the "Interim." Charles's attempt to procure the imperial crown for his son Philip further excited the jealousy of the German princes, who threw such obstacles in his way that he was obliged to relinquish the design. Maurice at length, having secretly formed an alliance with the French king, openly declared against the emperor in March, 1552. He was assisted by the French army, which marched directly into Lorraine, and took possession of it without resistance. Maurice himself advanced on Innspruck, where Charles then was, almost unguarded. In a dark rainy night, this mighty monarch, suffering from a severe attack of gout, was placed in a litter, and carried over the Tyrolese Alps, through roads almost impassable, having before he left Innspruck set at liberty the captive Elector of Saxony. The Council of Trent broke up in confusion; and so much was the state of affairs changed, that in the month of August the emperor was obliged to agree to the Treaty of Passau, by terms of which the Landgrave of Hesse was set at liberty, and the Protestants were to enjoy the exercise of their religion and the rights of citizens as freely as the Catholics.

Maurice having marched into Hungary against the Turks, Charles resolved to attempt the recovery of Lorraine. He invested Metz, which was gallantly defended by the Duke of Guise, but was obliged to raise the siege in the middle of winter, and to retire baffled, with the shattered relics of a ruined army. In Italy he lost the important town of Siena by revolt. In the Low Countries his arms were more prosperous; yet he himself remained shut up in Brussels for seven months, and so little was he heard of, that many believed him to be dead. One ambitious project in which he succeeded was the marriage, in 1554, of his son Philip to Mary, Queen of England; though it was not eventually attended with the political advantages expected from it. In 1555, the dispute about religion was finally settled, a full right being given of establishing the Protestant doctrine in all the states whose rulers had received it.

Charles, after a long, eventful reign in which he had gained the highest temporal power in Europe, yet had seen some of his dearest projects frustrated, suddenly took the unexpected resolution of resigning his hereditary dominions to his son, and, with his characteristic steadiness, adhered to his resolution. In October, 1555, before an assembly of the States of the Low Countries at Brussels, Charles gave a sketch of his public life which had been attended with so much toil and anxiety; and as a proof of his incessant activity, mentioned that "either in a pacific or hostile manner he had visited Germany nine times, Spain six times, France four times, Italy seven times, the Low Countries ten times, England and Africa each twice, and had made eleven sea voyages." He ascribed his resignation to a broken constitution and growing infirmities. At first it was only the sovereignty of the Netherlands which he transferred to Philip. Shortly afterwards he in like manner made over to him the crown of Spain with its dependencies. For himself he reserved only a pension of 100,000 crowns annually. Setting sail from Zealand with a large convoy, after a prosperous voyage he arrived in the Bay of Biscay. On landing, Charles fell prostrate, and kissed the earth, exclaiming, "Naked I came out of my mother's womb, and naked I now return to thee, thou common mother of mankind."

His chosen retreat was the Monastery of St. Justus, near Placencia, situated in a retired valley, amid beautiful scenery. Here he occupied a few rooms, simply furnished. Retaining only twelve attendants, he commenced the tranquil and contemplative life of a religious recluse. But a mind like his, accustomed to active pursuits, and poorly furnished for abstract speculation, could ill sustain its vigor in such a course of life. He became the prey of mental anxieties, grew more rigorous in his devotional exercises, and not satisfied with the ordinary practices of the cloister, invented new displays of piety. Of these, the most extraordinary was the rehearsal of his own death and funeral rites. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel and caused his obsequies to be performed in his presence. This solemnity, probably suggested by a deranged mind consequent upon extreme bodily

weakness, was soon followed by his real death, which took place on the 21st of September, 1558, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Charles V. possessed sound sense, cool judgment, and steady perseverance, which, joined to the factitious advantages he possessed, raised him to a state of grandeur and prosperity beyond that of any contemporary prince. At times he displayed patient endurance of hardship, humanity towards the meanest of his fellow-sufferers, unshaken fortitude, and heroic contempt of danger. His abilities were not of that commanding nature which could have raised him from obscurity to great power. He owed much of his political success to the absence of warm and generous feeling; and that apathy which fitted him for acting the part of a consummate hypocrite, served his purposes better than the ardor of a great character would have done. His conduct in private life and his domestic relations were free from scandal. His public morals were those of all ambitious potentates; and the means he employed to attain his ends, though sometimes base, were not cruel nor villainous.

#### SPANISH RULE IN GERMANY.

Had Charles V. cared more for Germany than his own selfish ambitions, and put himself at the head of the strong national feeling, as Frederic of Saxony wanted him to do at Worms, there was at least a good chance of uniting Germany into a powerful and prosperous nation. But he threw away the chance. The course taken by Charles V. and the higher powers in the Diet of Worms produced a revolution which cost a hundred thousand lives. It divided Germany into two hostile camps, hurried her into the horrors of the 'Thirty Years' War, postponed for eight or ten generations the freedom of her peasantry, and left to our own times the realization of the yearnings of the German people after national unity.

The decision of the Diet of Spires in 1526 had already settled that each state of the empire should do as it thought best in the matter of the edict against Luther. As might be expected, those princes who sided with Luther, and followed

the lead of Saxony, at once took reform into their own hands. Monasteries were reformed or suppressed, and their revenues turned to good account, either for educational purposes, for supporting the preaching of the gospel, or for the poor. Monks and nuns were allowed to marry, Luther himself setting the example of marrying a nun. Divine service was in part carried on in German, though Latin was not entirely excluded. The youth were taught to read in common schools and in the language of the Fatherland. Luther's German Bible and German hymns came into popular use. In a word, in what were called the "Evangelical States" a severance was made from the Church of Rome; and national churches sprang up, resting on the civil power of each state for their authority and adopting Lutheran doctrines. This was the result of the decree of the first Diet of Spire and the emperor's quarrel with the pope.

Meanwhile the emperor, having settled this quarrel with the pope, returned to his loyalty to Rome, and, taking advantage of this, the Catholic party succeeded, in the second Diet of Spire, in 1529, in passing a decree re-enacting the Edict of Worms, and forbidding all future reform till a regular council was summoned. The Lutheran princes protested against the decree, and so earned the name of "Protestants."

Civil war would very likely have at once resulted from this had not the Turks very opportunely made an attempt to extend their empire westward by besieging Vienna. The old dread which filled the minds of Christians at the beginning of the era came upon them again. Melancthon, who, with all his wisdom, still believed in astrology, watched the movements of the stars, and augured disastrous results from the approach of a comet. Luther showed how thorough a German he was by counseling unity in the moment of common danger. For a time Germany was united again, but only till the Turks had retreated from Vienna.

Charles V. had now reached the summit of his power. He had conquered France, he had conquered the pope, he had been crowned king of Italy at Bologna. He was now again reconciled with the pope, and, lastly, he had driven back the Turks. He had only to conquer the heretics of Germany to

complete the list of his triumphs. So he came in person to the Diet of Augsburg, in 1530, to ensure by his presence the enforcement of the Edict of Worms. Every effort was made to induce the Protestant princes to submit; but, headed by John of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, they maintained their ground. Luther and Melanchthon were at Coburg, near at hand, and drew up a statement of Lutheran doctrines which was known henceforth as the "Augsburg Confession."

The emperor at length gave them a few months to consider whether they would submit; if not, the decree of the Diet was, that the Lutheran heresy should be crushed by the imperial power. The Protestant princes at once formed the "League of Schmalkald" for mutual defence. And this, in spite of Luther's protest against opposition to the civil power, would have at once led to civil war, had not another Turkish invasion, in 1532, again diverted the attention of Charles V. and of Germany from religious disputes.

Melanchthon used the delay for an attempt, by argument and persuasion, to bring about a reconciliation between Catholic and Protestant theologians. At the council of Ratisbon, a theological peace was almost concluded; but the schism was too wide and deep to be healed so easily. Meanwhile, state after state went over to the Protestant side, and civil war became more and more imminent. The death of Luther in 1546 was the signal for its commencement. The emperor and Catholic princes, by means of Spanish soldiers, now tried to reduce to obedience the princes of the Schmalkald League. They conquered the Elector John Frederick of Saxony and Duke Philip of Hesse, the leaders of the Lutheran party, and proceeded to enforce by the sword a return to Catholic faith and practice all over Germany.

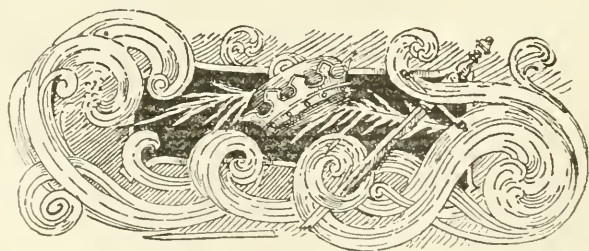
Charles V. now appeared in his true light as the Spanish conqueror of Germany. John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, the most beloved and truly German of German princes, were sentenced to death, kept in prison, and brutally treated. Germany, which Charles V. had sacrificed at the Diet of Worms to secure his Spanish policy, was now kept down by Spanish soldiers, and practically made into a Spanish province.

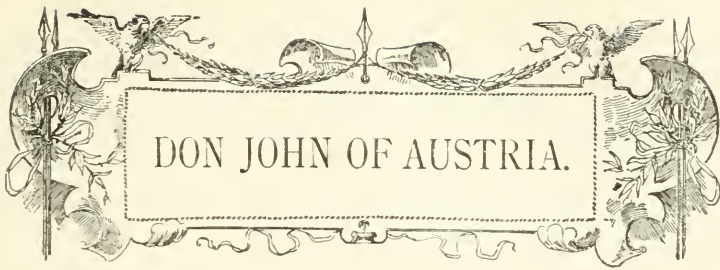


This was not the national unity which the German people yearned after; it was subjugation to a foreign yoke. A few years of Spanish rule produced its natural effect—revolt of the German princes, alliance even with France! and then came, with strange suddenness, the defeat and flight of Charles V. He made an attempt to regain part of the ground which the French had taken, and then abdicated, leaving the empire to his brother Ferdinand, Spain and the Netherlands to his son Philip II.

The struggle of Charles V. with Germany ended in the Peace of Augsburg (1555), with its legal recognition of the Protestant states and its wretched rule of mock toleration—*cujus regio, ejus religio*—toleration to princes, with power to compel their subjects to be of the same religion as themselves! It was a peace so rotten in its foundation that out of it came by inevitable necessity that most terrible chapter of German history, and perhaps of any history—the 'Thirty Years' War—which cost Germany, some say, half her population, robbed her citizens of the last vestige of their political freedom, confirmed the serfdom of her peasantry for two centuries more, and left upon some of her provinces scars which may be traced to-day.

Such terrible paths had the German people to tread towards national freedom and unity. Ten generations of Germans had to bear the curse brought upon them, not by the Reformation, but by those who opposed it—not by Luther, nor even by Münzer and his wild associates, but by the Emperor Charles V. and others of the higher powers who sided with him when he sold the interests of Germany and signed the treaty with the pope on that fatal 8th of May, 1521, at the Diet of Worms.—F. SEEBOHM.





## DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA.



THE great naval battle of Lepanto was one of the most memorable conflicts between the powers of the East and of the West. The glory of it illuminates the name of Don John of Austria, whose brief but brilliant career recalls the spirit and achievements of the Cid and other Spanish champions of the Catholic faith.

Don John of Austria was the bastard son of the Emperor Charles V., and was born at Ratisbon on the 24th of February, 1545. It was the triple anniversary of his father's birth and coronation, and of the battle of Pavia. Barbara Blomberg, a beautiful girl of Ratisbon, had attracted the emperor's attention some years after the death of his wife Isabella. The offspring of their attachment received the name of Geronimo, and by the order of his father he was early placed in charge of a Flemish musician, and afterwards transferred to the protection of Luis Quixada, Charles's majordomo, who sought carefully to conceal the parentage of the child. Charles, shortly before his death, requested that Geronimo, who had been brought to the neighborhood of San Yuste, should receive the honor and consideration due to him as his son, and expressed the hope that he would become a monk. Far other career awaited him.

One of the first acts of Philip II., after his return to Spain in 1559, was to arrange a meeting with his half-brother. The interview was held near Valladolid, and was mutually satisfactory. The king invested Geronimo with the collar of the Golden Fleece, assigned him a residence at court, and recognized him as a member of the royal family, under the name

of Don John of Austria. Philip's son, the unfortunate Don Carlos, when plotting flight from Spain, made his uncle his confidant; but the latter revealed the plan to the king, and thus helped to bring on the imprisonment and death of the prince. Don John had eagerly desired to serve in the navy, and in 1568 he was appointed captain-general of the Spanish fleet, then fitting out at Carthagená, against the Barbary pirates. In the next year, though but twenty-two, he superseded Mondéjar as commander-in-chief against the revolted Moriscos or Moors, who had professed conversion to Christianity, yet wished to retain much of their former customs. He began his campaign in December, and in the following May the terms of surrender had been arranged. The months between had been stained with torrents of blood. Don John's motto was "No quarter;" men, women and children were butchered by his order and under his own eyes; the villages of the Alpuxarras were turned into human shambles. Such a crusade effectually commended him to his unrelenting, cold-hearted brother.

The Holy League against the aggressions of the Turks, and for the protection especially of the Venetians, had been formed between Philip II., the Pope, and the Italian states. It had effected nothing, however, until Don John was nominated, in 1571, general-in-chief. On the 7th of October the allied fleets, comprising 208 galleys and many smaller vessels, sighted the Ottoman sail. The principal captains boarded Don John's ship, the "Real," to receive their final instructions. Even at this late hour some ventured to intimate their doubts of the expediency of engaging the dreaded Turks in a position where they had a decided advantage. Don John at once cut short the discussion: "Gentlemen," said he, "this is the time for combat, not for counsel." The generalissimo commanded personally the centre of the line of battle, which consisted of a squadron of 63 galleys; on his right was a squadron of 64 vessels, under the command of the Genoese admiral, Andrew Doria; the left wing was commanded by the Venetian Barbarigo; and a reserve of 34 ships was in charge of the brave Marquis of Santa Cruz. The Turkish galleys came slowly on in the form of a regular half-moon, covering a wider

extent of surface than the combined fleets. In the centre of their extended line was the galley of Ali Pasha, the captain-general of the Turks. About noon the battle commenced. The Turkish vessels opened fire. At first the fight was in their favor, as they had the advantage in numbers, but the Venetians fought like lions. Don John, in person, singled out and finally took the Turkish admiral's galley; and when this great naval battle terminated, 30,000 Turks had been slain or taken prisoners, 130 Turkish vessels taken, and 12,000 Christian galley-slaves liberated. The Christians lost 8,000 men and 15 galleys. This engagement, being fought off Lepanto, on the coast of Greece, took its name from that town.

Among the prisoners were the two sons of Ali, the Turkish commander-in-chief. Don John treated them with considerate kindness; but the elder, a youth of seventeen, could not be consoled and died at Naples. The younger, a boy of thirteen, was sent home with some attendants. Of the spoils taken from the enemy, one-half of the galleys and smaller vessels, of the artillery and small arms, and also of the prisoners, was set apart for Philip II. The other half was divided between the Pope and the republic of Venice. On arriving at Corfu, Don John was magnificently entertained, and received as a present from the city 30,000 crowns. He accepted this gift, and used it to relieve the sufferings of his sick and wounded soldiers. His share of the spoil, also, he generously ordered to be distributed among the captors. Divisions arose among the confederates as to the future operations of the war; the advice of Don John was overruled, and the advantages obtained by his splendid victory by no means equalled the expectation of the Christian nations of Europe. Don John had grand dreams of conquest and of forming new kingdoms in the Levant; but the suspicious Philip thwarted or prevented his schemes. The Turks got together another fleet, but prudently avoided another contest. Venice made peace with them, and the League was broken. In 1573 Don John captured Tunis, but it was relinquished a year later.

In 1576 Philip appointed Don John governor of the Low Countries, then the seat of war. The Catholic provinces had united with Holland and Zealand against the Spaniards, and

Don John was directed openly to concur in this convention, and cause the Spanish troops to leave the country. He hoped to employ them in an invasion of England; but of this design Elizabeth was forewarned by William of Orange. Shortly after this Don John took possession of Namur, Charlemont, and Marienburg, contrary to the interests of the States, who, in 1577, resumed their arms, deposed Don John, and declared the Archduke Matthias their governor. A war commenced, and Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, brought aid to the Spaniards from Italy. Don John gave the army of the Netherlands a very signal defeat, and made himself master of many strong places. He narrowly escaped the dagger of an English assassin, a Catholic refugee, who had hoped by the act to secure pardon from the Protestant queen. John was proceeding in his military career when, on October 1st, 1578, he was taken off, after a short illness, in his camp at Namur.

Don John resembled his father in person, equalled him in activity and enterprise, and greatly surpassed him in generosity. Throughout his career he was crippled and embarrassed in his enterprises by the jealousy, suspicion, and parsimony of his brother Philip. Yet his enthusiasm and loyal devotion enabled him to achieve remarkable glory, and make his dream of reducing England to subjection to a Catholic sovereign seem almost feasible.

#### THE NAVAL BATTLE OF LEPANTO.

On the third of October, 1571, Don John, without waiting longer for the missing vessels, again put to sea, and stood for the gulf of Lepanto. As the fleet swept down the Ionian Sea, it passed many a spot famous in ancient story. None, we may imagine, would be so likely to excite an interest at this time as Actium, on whose waters was fought the greatest naval battle of antiquity. On the fifth, a thick fog enveloped the armada, and shut out every object from sight. Fortunately the vessels met with no injury, and, passing by Ithaca, the ancient home of Ulysses, they safely anchored off the eastern coast of Cephalaria.

It was two hours before dawn, on Sunday, the memorable



seventh of October, when the fleet weighed anchor. The wind had become lighter; but it was still contrary, and the galleys were indebted for their progress much more to their oars than their sails. By sunrise they were abreast of the Curzolari,—a cluster of huge rocks, or rocky islets, which on the north defend the entrance to the gulf of Lepanto. The fleet moved laboriously along, while every eye was strained to catch the first glimpse of the hostile navy. At length the watch on the foretop of the "Real" called out, "A sail!" and soon after declared that the whole Ottoman fleet was in sight. Several others, climbing up the rigging, confirmed his report; and in a few moments more, word was sent to the same effect by Andrew Doria, who commanded on the right. There was no longer any doubt; and Don John, ordering his pennon to be displayed at the mizzen-peak, unfurled the great standard of the League, given by the pope, and directed a gun to be fired, the signal for battle. The report, as it ran along the rocky shores, fell cheerily on the ears of the confederates, who, raising their eyes towards the consecrated banner, filled the air with their shouts.

The principal captains now came on board the "Real," to receive the last orders of the commander-in-chief. Even at this late hour, there were some who ventured to intimate their doubts of the expediency of engaging the enemy in a position where he had a decided advantage. But Don John cut short the discussion. "Gentlemen," he said, "this is the time for combat, not for counsel." He then continued the dispositions he was making for the attack.

He had already given to each commander of a galley written instructions as to the manner in which the line of battle was to be formed in case of meeting the enemy. The armada was now disposed in that order. It extended on a front of three miles. Far on the right, a squadron of sixty-four galleys was commanded by the Genoese admiral, Andrew Doria,—a name of terror to the Moslems. The centre, or *battle*, as it was called, consisting of sixty-three galleys, was led by John of Austria, who was supported on the one side by Colonna, the captain-general of the pope, and on the other by the Venetian captain-general, Veniero. Immediately in the rear was

the galley of the Grand-Commander Requesens, who still remained near the person of his former pupil; though a difference which arose between them on the voyage, fortunately now healed, showed that the young commander-in-chief was wholly independent of his teacher in the art of war.

The left wing was commanded by the noble Venetian, Barbarigo, whose vessels stretched along the Ætolian shore, to which he approached as near as, in his ignorance of the coast, he dared to venture, so as to prevent his being turned by the enemy. Finally, the reserve, consisting of thirty-five galleys, was given to the brave Marquis of Santa Cruz, with directions to act in any quarter where he thought his presence most needed. The smaller craft, some of which had now arrived, seem to have taken little part in the action, which was thus left to the galleys.

Each commander was to occupy so much space with his galley as to allow room for manœuvring it to advantage, and yet not enough to allow the enemy to break the line. He was directed to single out his adversary, to close with him at once, and board as soon as possible. The beaks of the galleys were pronounced to be a hindrance rather than a help in action. They were rarely strong enough to resist a shock from an antagonist, and they much interfered with the working and firing of the guns. Don John had the beak of his vessel cut away. The example was followed throughout the fleet, and, as it is said, with eminently good effect.—It may seem strange that this discovery should have been reserved for the crisis of a battle.

When the officers had received their last instructions, they returned to their respective vessels; and Don John, going on board of a light frigate, passed rapidly through the part of the armada lying on his right, while he commanded Requesens to do the same with the vessels on his left. His object was to feel the temper of his men, and to rouse their mettle by a few words of encouragement. The Venetians he reminded of their recent injuries. The hour for vengeance, he told them, had arrived. To the Spaniards and other confederates he said: "You have come to fight the battle of the Cross; to conquer or to die. But whether you are to die or to conquer, do your

duty this day, and you will secure a glorious immortality.” His words were received with a burst of enthusiasm which went to the heart of the commander, and assured him that he could rely on his men in the hour of trial. On returning to his vessel, he saw Veniero on his quarter-deck; and they exchanged salutations in as friendly a manner as if no difference had existed between them. At this solemn hour both these brave men were willing to forget all personal animosity in a common feeling of devotion to the great cause in which they were engaged.

The Ottoman fleet came on slowly and with difficulty, for, strange to say, the wind, which had hitherto been adverse to the Christians, after lulling for a time, suddenly shifted to the opposite quarter and blew in the face of the enemy. As the day advanced, moreover, the sun, which had shone in the eyes of the confederates, gradually shot its rays into those of the Moslems. Both circumstances were of good omen to the Christians, and the first was regarded as nothing short of a direct interposition of Heaven. Thus ploughing its way along, the Turkish armament, as it came more into view, showed itself in greater strength than had been anticipated by the allies. It consisted of nearly two hundred and fifty royal galleys, most of them of the largest class, besides a number of smaller vessels in the rear, which, like those of the allies, appear scarcely to have come into action. The men on board, of every description, were computed at not less than a hundred and twenty thousand. The galleys spread out, as usual with the Turks, in the form of a regular half-moon, covering a wider extent of surface than the combined fleets, which they somewhat exceeded in number. They presented, indeed, as they drew nearer, a magnificent array, with their gilded and gaudily-painted prows, and their myriads of pennons and streamers, fluttering gayly in the breeze; while the rays of the morning sun glanced on the polished scimitars of Damascus, and on the superb aigrettes of jewels which sparkled in the turbans of the Ottoman chiefs.

In the centre of the extended line, and directly opposite to the station occupied by the captain-general of the League, was the huge galley of Ali Pasha. The right of the armada

was commanded by Mahomet Sirocco, Viceroy of Egypt, a circumspect as well as courageous leader; the left, by Uluch Ali, Dey of Algiers, the redoubtable corsair of the Mediterranean. Ali Pasha had experienced a difficulty like that of Don John, as several of his officers had strongly urged the inexpediency of engaging so formidable an armament as that of the allies. But Ali, like his rival, was young and ambitious. He had been sent by his master to fight the enemy; and no remonstrances, not even those of Mahomet Sirocco, for whom he had great respect, could turn him from his purpose.

As the Turkish admiral drew nearer, he made a change in his order of battle, by separating his wings farther from his centre, thus conforming to the dispositions of the allies. Before he had come within cannon-shot, he fired a gun by way of challenge to his enemy. It was answered by another from the galley of John of Austria. A second gun discharged by Ali was as promptly replied to by the Christian commander. The distance between the two fleets was now rapidly diminishing. At this solemn moment a deathlike silence reigned throughout the armament of the confederates. Men seemed to hold their breath, as if absorbed in the expectation of some great catastrophe. The day was magnificent. A light breeze, still adverse to the Turks, played on the waters, somewhat fretted by the contrary winds. It was nearly noon; and as the sun, mounting through a cloudless sky, rose to the zenith, he seemed to pause, as if to look down on the beautiful scene, where the multitude of galleys, moving over the water, showed like a holiday spectacle rather than a preparation for mortal combat.

The illusion was soon dispelled by the fierce yells which rose on the air from the Turkish armada. It was the customary war-cry with which the Moslems entered into battle. Very different was the scene on board of the Christian galleys. Don John might be there seen, armed *cap-à-pie*, standing on the prow of the "Real," anxiously awaiting the conflict. In this conspicuous position, kneeling down, he raised his eyes to Heaven, and humbly prayed that the Almighty would be with his people on that day. His example was followed by the whole fleet. Officers and men, all prostrating themselves

on their knees, and turning their eyes to the consecrated banner which floated from the "Real," put up a petition like that of their commander. They then received absolution from the priests, of whom there were some in every vessel; and each man, as he rose to his feet, gathered new strength, as he felt assured that the Lord of Hosts would fight on his side.

When the foremost vessels of the Turks had come within cannon-shot, they opened their fire on the Christians. The firing soon ran along the whole of the Turkish line, and was kept up without interruption as it advanced. Don John gave orders for trumpet and atabal to sound the signal for action, which was followed by the simultaneous discharge of such of the guns in the combined fleet as could be brought to bear on the enemy. The Spanish commander had caused the *galeazas*, those mammoth war-ships, to be towed half a mile ahead of the fleet, where they might intercept the advance of the Turks. As the latter came abreast of them, the huge galleys delivered their broadsides right and left, and their heavy ordnance produced a startling effect. Ali Pasha gave orders for his galleys to open their line and pass on either side, without engaging these monsters of the deep, of which he had had no experience. Even so their heavy guns did considerable damage to several of the nearest vessels, and created some confusion in the pasha's line of battle. They were, however, but unwieldy craft, and, having accomplished their object, seem to have taken no further part in the combat.

The action began on the left wing of the allies, which Mahomet Sirocco was desirous of turning. This had been anticipated by Barbarigo, the Venetian admiral, who commanded in that quarter. To prevent it, as we have seen, he lay with his vessels as near the coast as he dared. Sirocco, better acquainted with the soundings, saw there was space enough for him to pass, and darting by with all the speed that oars could give him, he succeeded in doubling on his enemy. Thus placed between two fires, the extreme of the Christian left fought at terrible disadvantage. No less than eight galleys went to the bottom, and several others were captured. The brave Barbarigo, throwing himself into the heat of the fight, without availing himself of his defensive armor, was



pierced in the eye by an arrow, and, reluctant to leave the glory of the field to another, was borne to his cabin. The combat still continued with unabated fury on the part of the Venetians. They fought like men who felt that the war was theirs, and who were animated not only by the thirst for glory, but for revenge.

Far on the Christian right a manœuvre similar to that so successfully executed by Sirocco was attempted by Uluch Ali, the Dey of Algiers. Profiting by his superiority in numbers, he endeavored to turn the right wing of the confederates. It was in this quarter that Andrew Doria commanded. He had foreseen this movement of his enemy, and he succeeded in foiling it. It was a trial of skill between the two most accomplished seamen in the Mediterranean. Doria extended his line so far to the right indeed, to prevent being surrounded, that Don John was obliged to remind him that he left the centre too much exposed. His dispositions were so far unfortunate for himself, that his own line was thus weakened, and afforded some vulnerable points to his assailant. These were soon detected by the eagle eye of Uluch Ali; and, like the king of birds swooping on his prey, he fell on some galleys separated by a considerable interval from their companions, and, sinking more than one, carried off the great "Capitaua" of Malta in triumph as his prize.

While the combat opened thus disastrously to the allies both on the right and on the left, in the centre they may be said to have fought with doubtful fortune. Don John had led his division gallantly forward. But the object on which he was intent was an encounter with Ali Pasha, the foe most worthy of his sword. The Turkish commander had the same combat no less at heart. The galleys of both were easily recognized, not only from their position, but from their superior size and richer decoration. The one, moreover, displayed the holy banner of the League; the other, the great Ottoman standard. This, like the ancient standard of the caliphs, was held sacred in its character. It was covered with texts from the Koran, emblazoned in letters of gold, and had the name of Allah inscribed upon it no less than twenty-eight thousand nine hundred times. It was the banner of the sultan, having

passed from father to son since the foundation of the imperial dynasty, and was never seen in the field unless the Grand Seigneur or his lieutenant was there in person.

Both the chiefs urged on their rowers to the top of their speed. Their galleys soon shot ahead of the rest of the line, driven through the boiling surges as by the force of a tornado, and closed with a shock that made every timber crack, and the two vessels quiver to their very keels. So powerful, indeed, was the impetus they received, that the pasha's galley, which was considerably the larger and loftier of the two, was thrown so far upon its opponent that the prow reached the fourth bench of rowers. As soon as the vessels were disengaged from each other, and those on board had recovered from the shock, the work of death began. Don John's chief strength consisted in some three hundred Spanish arquebusers, culled from the flower of his infantry. Ali, on the other hand, was provided with an equal number of janizaries. He was followed by a smaller vessel, in which two hundred more were stationed as a *corps de reserve*. He had, moreover, a hundred archers on board. The bow was still as much in use with the Turks as with the other Moslems.

The pasha opened at once on his enemy a terrible fire of cannon and musketry. It was returned with equal spirit and much more effect; for the Turks were observed to shoot over the heads of their adversaries. The Moslem galley was unprovided with the defences which protected the sides of the Spanish vessels; and the troops, crowded together on the lofty prow, presented an easy mark to their enemy's balls. But though numbers of them fell at every discharge, their places were soon supplied by those in reserve. They were enabled, therefore, to keep up an incessant fire, which wasted the strength of the Spaniards; and as both Christian and Mussulman fought with indomitable spirit, it seemed doubtful to which side victory would incline.

The affair was made more complicated by the entrance of other parties into the conflict. Both Ali and Don John were supported by some of the most valiant captains in their fleets. Next to the Spanish commander were Colonna and the veteran Veniero, who, at the age of seventy-six, performed feats of

arms worthy of a paladin of romance. In this way a little squadron of combatants gathered round the principal leaders, who sometimes found themselves assailed by several enemies at the same time. Still the chiefs did not lose sight of one another; but, beating off their inferior foes as well as they could, each, refusing to loosen his hold, clung with mortal grasp to his antagonist.

The left wing of the confederates, commanded by Barbarigo, had been sorely pressed by the Turks, as we have seen, at the beginning of the fight. Barbarigo himself had been mortally wounded. His line had been turned. Several of his galleys had been sunk. But the Venetians gathered courage from despair. By incredible efforts, they succeeded in beating off their enemies. They became the assailants in their turn. Sword in hand, they carried one vessel after another. The Capuchin was seen in the thickest of the fight, waving aloft his crucifix, and leading the boarders to the assault. The Christian galley-slaves, in some instances, broke their fetters, and joined their countrymen against their masters. Fortunately, the vessel of Mahomet Sirocco, the Moslem admiral, was sunk; and though extricated from the water himself, it was only to perish by the sword of his conqueror, Giovanni Contarini. The Venetian could find in his heart no mercy for the Turk.

The fall of their commander gave the final blow to his followers. Without further attempt to prolong the fight, they fled before the avenging swords of the Venetians. Those nearest the land endeavored to escape by running their vessels ashore, where they abandoned them as prizes to the Christians. Yet many of the fugitives, before gaining the land, perished miserably in the waves. Barbarigo, the Venetian admiral, who was still lingering in agony, heard the tidings of the enemy's defeat, and, uttering a few words expressive of his gratitude to Heaven, which had permitted him to see this hour, he breathed his last.

During this time the combat had been going forward in the centre between the two commanders-in-chief, Don John and Ali Pasha, whose galleys blazed with an incessant fire of artillery and musketry, that enveloped them like "a martyr's

robe of flames." The parties fought with equal spirit, though not with equal fortune. Twice the Spaniards had boarded their enemy, and both times they had been repulsed with loss. Still their superiority in the use of fire-arms would have given them a decided advantage over their opponents, if the loss they had inflicted had not been speedily repaired by fresh reinforcements. More than once the contest between the two chieftains was interrupted by the arrival of others to take part in the fray. They soon, however, returned to each other, as if unwilling to waste their strength on a meaner enemy. Through the whole engagement both commanders exposed themselves to danger as freely as any common soldier. In such a contest even Philip must have admitted that it would be difficult for his brother to find, with honor, a place of safety. Don John received a wound in the foot. It was a slight one, however, and he would not allow it to be dressed till the action was over.

Again his men were mustered, and a third time the trumpets sounded to the attack. It was more successful than the preceding. The Spaniards threw themselves boldly into the Turkish galley. They were met with the same spirit as before by the janizaries. Ali Pasha led them on. Unfortunately, at this moment he was struck in the head by a musket-ball, and stretched senseless in the gangway. His men fought worthily of their ancient renown. But they missed the accustomed voice of their commander. After a short but ineffectual struggle against the fiery impetuosity of the Spaniards, they were overpowered and threw down their arms. The decks were loaded with the bodies of the dead and the dying. Beneath these was discovered the Turkish commander-in-chief, severely wounded, but perhaps not mortally. He was drawn forth by some Castilian soldiers, who, recognizing his person, would at once have dispatched him. But the disabled chief, having rallied from the first effects of his wound, had sufficient presence of mind to divert them from their purpose, by pointing out the place below where he had deposited his money and jewels; and they hastened to profit by the disclosure, before the treasure should fall into the hands of their comrades.

Ali was not so successful with another soldier, who came up soon after, brandishing his sword, and preparing to plunge it into the body of the prostrate commander. It was in vain that the latter endeavored to turn the ruffian from his purpose. He was a convict, one of those galley-slaves whom Don John had caused to be unchained from the oar and furnished with arms. He could not believe that any treasure would be worth so much as the head of the pasha. Without further hesitation, he dealt him a blow which severed it from his shoulders. Then, returning to his galley, he laid the bloody trophy before Don John. But he had miscalculated on his recompense. His commander gazed on it with a look of pity mingled with horror. He may have thought of the generous conduct of Ali to his Christian captives, and have felt that he deserved a better fate. He coldly inquired "of what use such a present could be to him," and then ordered it to be thrown into the sea. Far from the order being obeyed, it is said the head was stuck on a pike, and raised aloft on board of the captured galley. At the same time the banner of the Crescent was pulled down; while that of the Cross, run up in its place, proclaimed the downfall of the pasha.

The sight of the sacred ensign was welcomed by the Christians with a shout of "Victory!" which rose high above the din of battle. The tidings of the death of Ali soon passed from mouth to mouth, giving fresh heart to the confederates, but falling like a knell on the ears of the Moslems. Their confidence was gone. Their fire slackened. Their efforts grew weaker and weaker. They were too far from shore to seek an asylum there, like their comrades on the right. They had no resource but to prolong the combat or to surrender. Most preferred the latter. Many vessels were carried by boarding, others were sunk by the victorious Christians. Ere four hours had elapsed, the centre, like the right wing, of the Moslems might be said to be annihilated.

Still the fight was lingering on the right of the confederates, where, it will be remembered, Uluch Ali, the Algerine chief, had profited by Doria's error in extending his line so far as greatly to weaken it. Uluch Ali, attacking it on its most vulnerable quarter, had succeeded, as we have seen, in



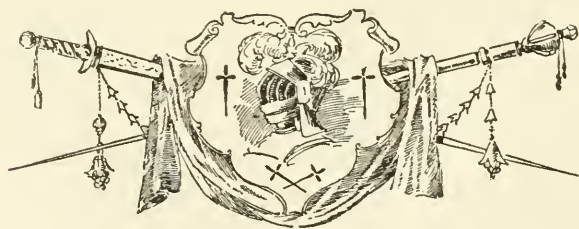
capturing and destroying several vessels, and would have inflicted still heavier losses on his enemy had it not been for the seasonable succor received from the Marquis of Santa Cruz. This brave officer, who commanded the reserve, had already been of much service to Don John when the "Real" was assailed by several Turkish galleys at once during his combat with Ali Pasha; for at this juncture the Marquis of Santa Cruz arriving, and beating off the assailants, one of whom he afterwards captured, enabled the commander-in-chief to resume his engagement with the pasha.

No sooner did Santa Cruz learn the critical situation of Doria, than, supported by Cardona, "general" of the Sicilian squadron, he pushed forward to his relief. Dashing into the midst of the *mêlée*, the two commanders fell like a thunderbolt on the Algerine galleys. Few attempted to withstand the shock. But, in their haste to avoid it, they were encountered by Doria and his Genoese galleys. Thus beset on all sides, Uluch Ali was compelled to abandon his prizes and provide for his own safety by flight. He cut adrift the Maltese "Capitana," which he had lashed to his stern, and on which three hundred corpses attested the desperate character of her defence. As tidings reached him of the discomfiture of the centre and of the death of Ali Pasha, he felt that nothing remained but to make the best of his way from the fatal scene of action, and save as many of his own ships as he could. And there were no ships in the Turkish fleet superior to his, or manned by men under more perfect discipline. For they were the famous corsairs of the Mediterranean, who had been rocked from infancy on its waters.

Throwing out his signals for retreat, the Algerine was soon to be seen, at the head of his squadron, standing towards the north, under as much canvas as remained to him after the battle, and urged forward through the deep by the whole strength of his oarsmen. Doria and Santa Cruz followed quickly in his wake. But he was borne on the wings of the wind, and soon distanced his pursuers. Don John, having disposed of his own assailants, was coming to the support of Doria, and now joined in the pursuit of the viceroy. A rocky headland, stretching far into the sea, lay in the path of the

fugitive ; and his enemies hoped to intercept him there. Some few of his vessels were stranded on the rocks. But the rest, near forty in number, standing more boldly out to sea, safely doubled the promontory. Then, quickening their flight, they gradually faded from the horizon, their white sails, the last thing visible, showing in the distance like a flock of Arctic sea-fowl on their way to their native homes.—The confederates explained the inferior sailing of their own galleys on this occasion by the circumstance of their rowers, who had been allowed to bear arms in the fight, being crippled by their wounds.

The battle had lasted more than four hours. The sky, which had been almost without a cloud through the day, began now to be overcast, and showed signs of a coming storm. Before seeking a place of shelter for himself and his prizes, Don John reconnoitred the scene of action. He met with several vessels too much damaged for further service. These, mostly belonging to the enemy, after saving what was of any value on board, he ordered to be burnt. He selected the neighboring port of Petala, as affording the most secure and accessible harbor for the night. Before he had arrived there, the tempest began to mutter and darkness was on the water. Yet the darkness rendered only more visible the blazing wrecks, which, sending up streams of fire mingled with showers of sparks, looked like volcanoes on the deep.—W. H. PRESCOTT.



# QUEEN CHRISTINA.



CHRISTINA, Queen of Sweden, though a woman of great talent and learning, despised her sex, abdicated her power, abjured her religion, and lived thereafter a curious life in full view of all Europe. She was the daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus, and was born on the 8th of November, 1626. The Swedes had been praying for an heir to the throne, and the astrologers had

predicted that the child would be a boy. The father turned off his disappointment with the jest, "I hope she will be as good as a boy; she will certainly be smart, for she has deceived us all." He determined that she should have a boy's education, and entrusted her to the care of his able chancellor, Axel Oxenstiern, while his almoner, John Matthiæ, was to instruct her in the classics and sciences.

Gustavus fell at Lützen in 1632, and the child of six was proclaimed queen. But the government was administered by a regency of five dignitaries, Oxenstiern being the chief. Christina was trained as before, dressed in boy's clothes, and went hunting in the mountains. Yet she also pursued diligently regular studies, and was trained in statecraft by the wise chancellor. At the age of sixteen she was judged fit to assume the power of queen, but declined to do so for two years more. She retained the members of the regency as ministers, though they opposed her strong desire for peace. However, she effected her object, first with Denmark, which ceded

some provinces ; and afterwards, by the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, was able to bring the 'Thirty Years' War to an end. This treaty, which was accomplished chiefly by her efforts, secured to Sweden Pomerania and other provinces, with three votes in the Germanic Diet, besides a large sum of money.

Her course was regarded with great admiration throughout Europe, and her alliance was eagerly sought. She devoted herself to the welfare of her people, and had the satisfaction of seeing her country prosper and her treasury full. Having already determined to lead a single life, she refused the suitors for her hand, and named her cousin, Charles Gustavus, as her successor. She had become dissatisfied with the Lutheran religion, and evolved a kind of mysticism for herself.

In 1650 she solemnly assumed the title of king. A still greater change appeared in her conduct, which is usually attributed to the influence of a French physican, Bourdelot, who had treated her illness with great success where Swedish doctors failed. A reign of foreign favorites now began. Titles and honors were lavished freely on adventurers ; parties and factions sprang up at court, while in the country at large there was serious discontent. At the end of a year Christina, who now desired to become a Catholic, thought of abdicating, but Oxenstiern prevented its accomplishment. Bourdelot was sent away, and the queen devoted herself to the fostering of science, literature, and the arts. She purchased objects for the museums, and surrounded herself with learned men from other countries, among whom the principal was Descartes, then exiled from France ; carried on correspondence with Grotius, Puffendorf, and others, who could not accept an invitation to her court. The conspiracy of Messenius, though the chiefs were executed, caused her to carry out her former determination, and in June, 1654, in the assembly of the States, at Upsala, she resigned her crown to her cousin, Charles Gustavus ; stipulating, however, for her own independence and revenue, and her sovereignty over her attendants.

In her journey, after leaving her native land, Christina laid aside female dress, and took for her motto, "*Fata viam invenient*," (The Fates will find a way.) She went, by way of Denmark and Hamburg, to Brussels, and there, after a con-



ference with the archbishop and others, privately renounced Lutheranism. A year later she solemnly and publicly repeated the act at Innsbruck. Passing into Italy, her progress resembled a triumphal procession. She entered Rome riding on a white horse, and wearing the dress of an Amazon. Pope Alexander VII., welcomed her and confirmed her in St. Peter's Church, adding Alexandra to her former name. The city of Rome was still the metropolis of literary culture, the home of learning and the arts. Christina lived in the Palace Farnese, surrounded by learned men and alchemists. In 1656 she went to France, and was received with honor. During her stay in Paris she endeavored to reconcile France and Spain, and sought also to help forward the marriage of Louis XIV. with the niece of Cardinal Mazarin, to whom the young king was warmly attached; but the cardinal opposed the match, and thereafter endeavored to get rid of the meddler. Christina was especially attentive to men of letters and science, but expressed her contempt for women. After another visit to Italy she returned to France, but was restricted to residence at Fontainebleau. Here she exercised her sovereign power by having her favorite, Monaldeschi, put to death at her palace for betraying secrets. That he was guilty was abundantly proved, but her right to inflict this punishment was disputed. Such was the public outcry at this execution that she was ordered to leave France; yet she remained till the next year, when she returned to Rome.

In 1660 Charles Gustavus died, and Christina returned to Sweden to secure a settlement of the revenues due to her, but remaining unpaid. There were unfounded reports that she wished to claim the throne, but she knew that her countrymen would not accept a Catholic sovereign. In fact, they made her sign another deed of abdication. Again she went to Rome, and in 1666 she returned to Sweden, where she found less favor than before. She applied for the crown of Poland, believing that her Catholic faith would be no bar, while her descent from Polish kings might be an argument in her favor. But her application was rejected.

Returning to Rome, she spent twenty years in a variety of occupations, such as had already diversified her life. She



died on the 19th of April, 1689, and was buried in St. Peter's Church. She left little money, but a splendid library, and a magnificent collection of pictures and works of art. Many of these went to increase the treasures of the Vatican.

Christina was thus described in 1656 by the Duke of Guise: "The Queen of Sweden is about as tall as Madame de Cominges, but her figure is fuller and broader; her arm is handsome, her hand white and well made, but more like that of a man than a woman; one shoulder a little higher than the other, which defect she conceals by the turn of her dress, her walk, and her gestures, so that one might make a bet about it. Her face is large without being faulty; all her features cast in the same mould, and strongly marked; her nose aquiline, her mouth large, but not unpleasing; her teeth pretty well, her eyes very fine and full of fire; her complexion, notwithstanding somewhat marked with small-pox, bright and pretty; the face as a whole pretty good, aided by a bizarre method of dressing the hair; a man's wig, very broad and high over the forehead, and very thick at the sides; her dress is much like that of a man; she hardly ever wears gloves; boots like a man's, and she resembles one in the tone of her voice and all her actions. She affects the Amazon; has as much ambition and pride as ever her father Gustavus could have. She is very civil and caressing, speaks eight languages, especially French, as if she had been born in France. She knows more than all the Academy and Sorbonne put together; is an admirable critic in painting, as in everything else; knows the Court intrigues better than the courtiers; in short, an extraordinary person."

#### THE ABDICATION OF CHRISTINA.

On May 12, 1654, the Diet was held at Upsala. White-locke has left us an account of it, "being in an upper room or gallery, where he sat privately, not taken notice of by any, yet had the full view of the great hall where the *Ricksdag* met, and heard what was said." He describes the splendid appearance of this great hall and the entry of the four Orders. "About nine o'clock there entered at the lower end a plain, lusty man in his boor's habit, with a staff in his hand, fol-

lowed by about eighty boors ;” after them the citizen Order, then the nobility, and clergy. “All being sat,” came in the queen’s guard, the senators, the court, and the queen herself, who walked up the lane they made for her and took her seat “in the chair of state, all of massy silver, a rich cushion in it, and a canopy of crimson velvet richly embroidered over it.” The chancellor should have made the opening speech, but he remained silent. The queen beckoned to him, and after a little speaking together he returned to his place ; he would take no part in removing the crown from the head of a descendant of the house of Vasa. “The queen sat down again a little time ; then rising up with mettle, she came forward, and with a good grace and confidence spake to the assembly.” She told them that they would doubtless be astonished at the reason why they had been summoned, being a thing without precedent ; but if they reflected upon it, they would see that it was no new resolve, but a thing of long premeditation. She reminded them of the succession assured to her cousin, and his eminent qualities, whom they would doubtless joyfully welcome to the throne ; she recalled her unwearied diligence and service of the state during the ten years of her reign, demanding nothing in return but that they would consent to her resolution, which was firm and ineradicable : and concluded with her wishes for the future good of the country. Her speech was answered by others from the archbishop and the grand marshal, setting forth their gratitude and approbation of her reign, and praying her to give up her determination to abdicate. “In the last place stepped forward the Marshal of the Boors, a plain country fellow, in his clouted shoon, and all other habits answerable ;” “without any *congées* or ceremony at all, he spake to her majesty :

“‘Madam, what do you mean to do? It troubles us to hear you speak of forsaking those that love you so well as we do. Can you be better than you are? You are queen of all these countries, and if you leave this large kingdom, where will you get such another? . . . Continue in your gears, good Madam, and be the forehorse as long as you live, and we will help you the best we can to bear your burden.’ . . . When the boor had ended his speech, he waddled up to the queen

without any ceremony, took her by the hand and shook it heartily, and kissed it two or three times; then, turning his back to her, he pulled out of his pocket a foul handkerchief, and wiped the tears from his eyes."

Schering Rosenhane then read a paper in which the queen reviewed her political and domestic relations, and invited the estates to consider the allowances to be paid her. And then the estates left the hall as they had come in.

After attempting to shake her resolution once again, the Diet agreed to her abdication; yet would not, as has been said, grant the lands demanded, but only the revenues accruing from them. There were some who wished to compel her to live in Sweden, and not spend these revenues out of the country. But Charles Gustavus opposed himself to this, not only to oblige Christina, but because he had no wish to see her remain in the kingdom on his own account.

Some weeks before her resignation, Christina went to Nycöping to bid farewell to her mother. Before the prince, whom she summoned for this purpose, and the count, she asked her pardon if she had not at all times shown all the respect and care towards her that she ought; this was not owing to a want of good will, but the result of certain circumstances which had tied her hands. She was now going to resign the crown and would be still less able to do anything for her than before; but if her mother was going to lose a daughter, she would find a son; and she presented to her Charles Gustavus, and committed her to his care. They bade each other farewell, Christina firmly, but Maria Eleanora burst into tears. She cried all night. Christina got up and went to her to endeavor to console her; at five in the morning she returned to Upsala.

At length the day came. On June 6, Christina and the king-elect entered the Senate, and the Act of abdication was read, by which she resigned the crown forever, for herself and her posterity, and recognized Charles as her successor, provided that he maintained her rights to her revenues. She was tied by no conditions except that of doing nothing injurious to the state; she was to be subject and accountable to no one, and was to reserve supreme power and jurisdiction over her

domestics and the members of her household. This, and another Act, in which the prince promised to observe these conditions, being signed, the grand officers clothed the queen in her royal robes and placed the crown on her head; she took in her right hand the Sceptre, and in her left the Golden Ball; two senators, representing the grand marshal and the treasurer, went before her, carrying the sword and the key. In this state she entered the grand hall of the castle, where all the estates of the realm, the foreign ambassadors, and the ladies of the court were assembled. She mounted the dais, and sat for the last time in the silver throne: behind her were her grand chamberlain and her captain of the guard; on her left, the prince.

Schering Rosenhane then read in a loud voice the two Acts, which he handed respectively to the queen and the prince. Then, at a given signal, the grand officers came forward to receive the royal insignia. But Count Bralié would not take the crown off her head, and she had to do it herself. Then she removed the royal mantle, which was seized by the nearest spectators, and torn into a thousand pieces: each one wishing to carry away a memorial of the queen they were never again to see. Divested of her royal trappings, Christina, no longer the queen, stepped forward in a dress of plain white silk, and spoke to the assembly, bidding them farewell in an affecting speech:—"I thank Almighty God, who caused me to be born of a royal stock, and raised me to be queen over so large and mighty a kingdom: and for that he has granted me so uncommon a measure of success and blessing. I thank, too, those nobles who preserved the state when I was in tender years, and likewise the Senate and the Estates for the fidelity and attachment they have shown me." She then recounted all that had been done in Sweden during the ten years of her reign, and solemnly affirmed that in a difficult position she had done nothing for which she had to reproach herself; she had sacrificed her own time and repose to the welfare of her people. She spoke of her father, Gustavus Adolphus, and what he had done for Sweden; then turning to the prince, she praised his fine qualities, and predicted that he would increase the national glory. She bade

them transfer to him the fidelity they had shown to her, and renew to him the oaths, from which she now released them, that they had taken to herself.

Her speech was received with profound emotion ; few could restrain their tears. Schering Rosenhane made answer for the Estates, for the chancellor would take no part in the ceremony. They were obliged to consent to a measure they disliked against their will ; yet they thanked her for the trouble she had taken in their behalf. Then addressing Charles Gustavus, the queen bade him keep his eye fixed upon the great examples of his ancestors, protesting that his worth, and not his kinship, had caused her to choose him for her successor. She wished for no other recompense than that he would be kind and attentive to her mother, and those of her friends whom she had recommended to him. The prince begged her to re-ascend the throne ; but finding this of no avail, he thanked her for her goodness to him, and promised to observe all her wishes. He next addressed the Senate and the Estates, who, through the mouth of Rosenhane, assured him of their love and obedience. Then taking Christina by the hand he led her back to her room.

The same afternoon his own coronation was performed, very simply, owing to the exhausted state of the finances. He caused a medal to be struck, to commemorate his gratitude. On the obverse was himself, as king—CAROLUS GUSTAVUS REX ; on the reverse, a picture of Christina crowning him, with the motto : A DEO ET CHRISTINA.

The reign of Christina had come to an end.

—F. W. BAIN.









W. CAMPHAUSEN, PINX.

*EMPRESS MARIA THERESA.*



MARIA THERESA stands forth in modern European history as Minerva among the deities of Greek Olympus. Though a woman, she dared to contend for her sovereign rights with the greatest warrior and most unscrupulous politician of her time.

Maria Theresa was born at Vienna in 1717, the eldest daughter of Emperor Charles VI., of Austria. The famous Pragmatic Sanction, issued by Charles in 1724, declared that, should he die without sons, his eldest daughter should be heiress to all the Austrian dominions. This Pragmatic Sanction was intended to fortify the succession of Maria Theresa to the hereditary dominion of the House of Hapsburg; and it was further guaranteed by the Diet of the Empire, by all the German provinces individually, and by the principal states of Europe. The Bourbons alone formed the exception and held aloof. Maria had been promised by her father to the Spanish prince Don Carlos, in order to secure the restoration of the Italian provinces; but on the 12th of February, 1736, she was married to Francis of Lorraine, who, by the Peace of Vienna of the preceding year, had been recognized as the future Grand Duke of Tuscany, after the death of Gian Gastone, the last offspring of the House of Medici. Gian Gastone died in July, 1737, and Francis succeeded to the Grand Duchy. In January, 1739, accompanied by his consort, he went to Florence. At this

time her high spirit and capacity for rule attracted the notice of skillful observers. At the death of her father, in the following year, Maria Theresa remained sole heiress of the House of Austria.

The hope of despoiling a defenceless woman was, however, too great a temptation to be overcome by the faith of treaties; and claims were raised on all sides to part or the whole of her inheritance. The Kings of Prussia, France, Spain, and Sardinia, and the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, each brought forward some pretext to some part of the Austrian territory; and Maria Theresa, at the age of twenty-three, was called on to make head against the armies of all her neighbors, except the Sultan of Turkey, who alone acted towards her with fairness and good faith. Frederic II., King of Prussia, offered the young queen his friendship on the condition of her surrendering Silesia to him. But when she resolutely refused to part with the province which had belonged to Austria for centuries, Frederic invaded and secured possession of this rich district, by a speedy victory at Mollwitz.

Frederic's success induced the court of France (during the minority of Louis XV.) to form a conjunction with the Elector of Bavaria, and enter into war. Their combined forces overran upper Austria and threatened Vienna, which was overwhelmed with alarm. The queen, roused to action by the approach of her enemies, retired to Presburg, and summoned the Hungarian Diet. In the midst of the martial assembly the young queen appeared with her infant son Joseph in her arms. She addressed them earnestly and eloquently in Latin, the official language of Hungary. She closed with the pathetic words, "The kingdom of Hungary, our persons, our children, our crown are at stake,—forsaken by all, we seek shelter only in the fidelity, the arms, the hereditary valor of the renowned Hungarian nobility." The noble Hungarians, with a unanimous burst of chivalrous loyalty, drew their swords and shouted, "*Moriamur pro rege nostro Mariâ Theresâ,*"—"Let us die for our King Maria Theresa." This was no transient demonstration of zeal. The whole military force of Hungary was soon in the field. Her troops, under General Kevenhuller and Prince Charles of Lorraine, her

brother-in-law, fought gallantly and drove the French and Bavarians out of her hereditary states. In the meantime Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, was elected Emperor of Germany, by the Diet assembled at Frankfort, by the name of Charles VII.

By the prudent cession of Silesia to the King of Prussia in 1742, the queen detached her most formidable enemy; as she did about the same time the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony. She also obtained the valuable alliance of England, and in 1743 the French were driven out of Bohemia. On the 12th of May, in the same year, Maria Theresa was, with great splendor, crowned Queen of Bohemia, at Prague. But, a year later, Frederic II. again invaded and seized Bohemia. The resolution and vigor of the queen remained unshaken. She again assembled at Presburg a Diet of the Hungarian nobles, and, in accordance with an ancient national custom, a blood-red flag was raised on all the castles, summoning the people to arms. By this means she was successful in raising an army of nearly eighty thousand men. The amazing unanimity of the Hungarians in her behalf, and their chivalrous devotion to her person, recall vividly the similar devotion of the English people in the sixteenth century to Queen Elizabeth. By her spirited addresses she was able to make every man about her a hero. Before such enthusiasm even the valorous Prussians were obliged to give way and to evacuate the country.

In 1745 Charles VII. died, and the martial queen placed the imperial crown upon the head of her husband. The Austrian and Piedmontese troops obtained great advantages in Italy; they gained the battle of Piacenza against the French and Spaniards, and occupied Genoa, which, however, they afterwards lost. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, closed the War of the Austrian Succession, and Maria Theresa was finally confirmed in the possession of all her dominions, with the exception of Silesia, which the King of Prussia retained.

After seven years of peace there began (1756) the Seven Years' War, between France, Austria and Russia on one side, and Frederic II., of Prussia, on the other. It was ended by



the treaty of Hubertsburg, in 1763, which confirmed to Frederick the possession of Silesia, and restored Germany to its former political state. The only advantage gained by the Empress-queen was the election of her son Joseph to the succession of the empire as King of the Romans.

In 1765 Maria Theresa lost her husband, the Emperor Francis, with whom she had lived in constant and affectionate union for thirty years. She ever after wore mourning, and paid frequent visits to his tomb. Yet during this period of religious devotion occurred the only important act of her life which can be justly alleged as a reproach—her abetting the sovereigns of Prussia and Russia in the First Partition of Poland. Her son Joseph, who had succeeded his father as Emperor, is said to have urged her to this step.

The improvements which Maria Theresa made in her dominions were important. She abolished the torture in her hereditary states, and in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia. She also abolished the rural and personal services which the peasants of Bohemia owed to their feudal superiors, and commuted them for a sum of money. At a later period she occupied herself with the establishment of a general system of popular education in her dominions. She divided the schools into three classes: first, "Normal Schools," one in each province, to serve as a model for all other schools in the section; second, "Principal Schools," in the large towns; and third, "Common Schools," in the small towns and villages. New ports were opened, canals dug, manufactories established, public libraries formed. A College for the Sciences instituted at Vienna, and bearing the name of Maria Theresa, testified the zeal and intelligence with which she pursued the public good. After her action with regard to Poland, she took less share in the management of public affairs, though she exerted a check upon her son in his innovating designs, especially such as included the abolition of convents and other changes affecting the Church.

As old age came on, she was attacked with a disease of the lungs which caused her fearful suffering. Feeling that death was fast approaching, she assembled her family around her bedside, and addressing the emperor, she said, "My son, all

my possessions after my death revert to you. To your care I commend my children. Be to them a father. I shall die contented if you give me that promise." Shortly before her death she remarked, "I could wish for immortality on earth, for no other reason than for the power of relieving the distressed." She expired at Vienna on the 29th of November, 1780, at the age of sixty-three.

Maria Theresa was a sincere and pious Roman Catholic. Her private character was irreproachable, and the morals and manners of her court formed a bright exception to the gross profligacy by which the courts of other potentates of that period were disgraced. Botta, the Italian historian, passes on her the high eulogy, that "during a forty years' reign she always showed a love of justice and truth." Maria Theresa, illustrious among female sovereigns, has been honored with the glorious title of "the mother of her people."

#### COUNT KAUNITZ, THE DIPLOMATIST.

A great revolution was suddenly consummated in 1756 at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. This was no less than the cessation of the long-standing rivalry between the houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg, the breaking off of the alliance between Austria and the Maritime States, and the formation of a wholly new balance of European forces, France and Austria combining against England and Prussia. The individual who, more than any other, is responsible for this novel combination is Count Kaunitz, recently Austrian plenipotentiary at Aix-la-Chapelle, who returned to Vienna in 1749 to receive a seat in the Cabinet, and to direct the policy of Austria for more than forty years. He was at this time thirty-seven years old, and though he had the exterior of a fop and the habits of a sybarite, he must be regarded as the most successful diplomatist of his age.

To an impartial observer it appeared that Maria Theresa had reason rather to congratulate herself than to complain of the results of the Succession war. She had escaped the annihilation that at one moment seemed inevitable, and her arms had been fairly successful except when opposed to the invinci-

ble Prussians. But the empress-queen was more impressed with the losses she had suffered than with the dangers she had avoided. Valuable territory had been sacrificed to Prussia, to Sardinia, and to Don Philip, and all attempts to obtain compensation had proved unsuccessful. These sacrifices, and this is a point which was constantly present to her mind, had been exacted from her quite as much by the pressure of her allies as by the victories of her opponents. It was not unnatural that, guided as she was rather by feminine impulses than by statesmanlike calculations, Maria Theresa felt dissatisfied with the results of the war and inclined to try the chances of a new course of policy.

In 1749 she invited each of her ministers to draw up an independent statement of their opinions as to the line of conduct which Austria should pursue in the future. The Emperor Francis and the older ministers pointed out that there were three chief enemies whom Austria had to fear,—Prussia, Turkey, and France, while several lesser powers, such as Sardinia and the new Duke of Parma, were eager to aggrandize themselves at her expense. To obtain security in this difficult position, the first essential was to reform the finances and to strengthen and improve the army. As foreign alliances were also necessary, it would in their opinion be best to maintain the old connection with the maritime powers, and at the same time scrupulously to observe the terms of the treaty, so as to give the king of Prussia no excuse for renewing his hostility. Kaunitz, on his part, drew up a very different and more aggressive manifesto, which is important as the first clear statement of the future policy of Austria. He also admitted that Austria had three natural enemies in France, Prussia and Turkey, while she had four natural allies in England, Holland, Russia and Saxony. Chief among the hostile powers he placed Prussia, and he did not hesitate to declare that the first object of Austrian policy must be the recovery of Silesia. For this, however, the existing alliances were insufficient. The weakness of Saxony had been clearly demonstrated in 1746, when it had compelled the acceptance of the treaty of Dresden. Russia was for the moment a devoted friend, but no reliance could be placed on a country where everything

depended on the whims of a despot. England was, of course, the foremost ally of Austria, but English aid could never be expected against Prussia. George II., as Elector of Hanover, was well-disposed to support the Hapsburg against the Hohenzollerns, but that in itself was enough to alienate the large party in England which hated the Hanoverian connection and refused to accept a policy which favored Hanoverian interests. At the same time community of religion formed a close bond between England and Prussia. In the late war the English ministers had merely used Austria as an instrument to humble France, and had never ceased to urge Maria Theresa to buy off Frederic by giving up Silesia. This conviction that the English alliance was useless against Prussia is the key-stone of the policy of Kaunitz. Holland, which always followed in the wake of its powerful neighbor, was equally out of the question. Therefore the recovery of Silesia was absolutely hopeless unless some other ally could be secured in addition to Russia and Saxony. The only power which would be of any service in this matter was France, and the practical conclusion of Kaunitz's argument was, that Austria should use every possible means to disarm the enmity of France and to gain her over as an ally.

The motives of Kaunitz's policy are fairly obvious. He thought little of the outlying territories in comparison with the German provinces which formed the kernel of the Austrian monarchy. He was willing to make any sacrifices in the Netherlands if only he could recover Silesia. The importance of this province to Austria was not to be measured merely by its wealth or its population. It was an essential part of the German-speaking provinces which formed the chief civilizing element in the empire of mixed races. Any decrease of the Germans in proportion to the Slavs was a distinct danger to Austria. At the same time the loss of so extensive a province was a serious blow to the power and prestige of the Hapsburgs, as heads of the empire. Its recovery was essential if the imperial power, immensely weakened by the recent crisis, was ever to return to its old proportions. Another point, which had perhaps more weight with the empress than with Kaunitz, was that the acquisition of Silesia by a Pro-

testant king was a great blow to the Roman Catholic influence in Europe.

From this time we can trace two parties in the Austrian government ; on the one side, the adherents of the old policy, including the emperor and the chief ministers; and on the other, Kaunitz and his partisans. Maria Theresa, to whom the recovery of Silesia was naturally an object of ardent desire, was won over to the views of Kaunitz and determined to give him the opportunity of realizing them. In 1750 he was appointed Austrian envoy at Versailles. There he was brought face to face with the enormous difficulties which confronted him. The French government was in a state of hopeless confusion. Louis XV., a slave to the most degrading vices, had altogether lost the popularity that had once given him the name of *bien-aimé*, and in 1750 a revolt broke out in Paris which was the precursor of future disorders. Madame de Pompadour, though she was no longer actually the king's mistress, was all-powerful at court, and secured her influence by ministering to the king's pleasures. Most of the ministers were her creatures, and they were changed with a frequency that makes it almost impossible to remember the order of succession. But these ministers had only a slight control over the conduct of affairs. Louis XV., averse as he was to the burden of business and incapable of forming a serious decision, took a puerile interest in the minutiae of diplomacy. It pleased him to carry on private negotiations without any reference to his responsible ministers. Most of the French envoys at foreign courts had a double set of instructions, one from the government and the other from the king himself, and they often found it difficult or impossible to harmonize their conduct to both. This secret diplomacy, which has only recently been investigated with any thoroughness, makes the French history of this period an almost trackless labyrinth. One of the king's objects was to secure the succession in Poland to the Prince de Conti, who was at this time his chief confidant.

Kaunitz found it impossible to come to any definite understanding with the French government, although he succeeded so far as to gain the personal favor of the king and Madame



de Pompadour. But while he was at Paris, Austria was able to come to terms with one at least of the Bourbon states. Spain, which, under Philip V., had been bitterly opposed to the Hapsburgs, now took the lead in proposing an alliance. In 1752 the treaty of Aranjuez was concluded, and was accepted also by the kings of Sardinia and Naples and the Duke of Parma. Spain and Austria guaranteed to each other all their European possessions. A similar guarantee was arranged with the other powers, but only extended to the Italian provinces of the Austrian monarchy. It was hoped that this treaty might influence the court at Versailles, but since the accession of Ferdinand VI., Spain had severed itself so entirely from the Family Compact with France that the expectation was baulked.

Kaunitz left Paris in 1753 and was at once promoted by Maria Theresa to be her chief minister. But the promotion of Kaunitz by no means implied the immediate adoption of the new policy. On the contrary, his residence in France seemed to have convinced him that his scheme was hopeless. He was now prepared to leave Prussia in undisturbed possession of Silesia and to maintain the most intimate relations with the maritime powers. But circumstances worked for him in an unexpected manner, and before long he was able to resume his plans with a better prospect of success.

The imminent outbreak of a continental war had forced Austria to come to an all-important decision. If France carried out its intention of attacking Hanover, the Netherlands could not possibly escape becoming a field for military operations. Maria Theresa had refused to support England by strengthening her forces in the Netherlands. Neutrality would have suited the interests of Austria, but it was impossible for a great power to remain neutral while one of its provinces was occupied by foreign troops. The only possible way out of the difficulty lay in an alliance with France, which opened the additional prospect of revenge against Prussia. Now or never Kaunitz must carry out the grand scheme which he had propounded in 1749, but which had hitherto proved impossible of achievement. The Austrian minister was equal to the occasion. In August, 1755, he drew up a statement of the

offers which were to be made to France. Louis XV.'s son-in-law, Don Philip, was to exchange Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla, for a more extensive principality in the Netherlands. Austria would undertake to support Conti in his candidature for the Polish throne, and to bring France into cordial relations with Russia, Spain and Naples. The allies of France, Sweden, Saxony and the Palatinate were to receive advantages at the expense of Prussia, and that state was to be reduced to the position which it had held before the Peace of Westphalia, so that it should be powerless in the future to disturb the peace of Europe. France, for its part, was to renounce the alliance with the Prussian king, and to share with Austria the expense of the undertaking.

The plan was approved by Maria Theresa without consultation with the other ministers, and was embodied in instructions to Count Stahrenberg, who had succeeded Kaunitz as envoy at Paris. The magnitude of the scheme, which involved a complete revolution in the politics of Europe, is best expressed in Kaunitz's own words: "A great power was to be convinced that the whole political system which it had hitherto pursued was in direct opposition to its true interests. It was to be persuaded that what it regarded as the only means for overcoming the difficulties with England were really unsuited to the purpose, and that it was pursuing a radically false policy when it made the support of Prussia the central object of all its alliances. Nothing less was aimed at than to root up the old rivalry of France against the house of Austria, and to completely alter the national character of a whole ministry." The plan would hardly have escaped failure but for an unexpected combination of favoring circumstances.

On the 29th of August, Stahrenberg received his instructions, and two days later he made his first overtures to the court of Versailles through Madame de Pompadour. It was a great point in his favor that the all-powerful mistress, like Elizabeth of Russia, was bitterly enraged by the reports that had reached her of insulting expressions used by Frederic in private conversation. Throughout this period she is the chief opponent of the Prussian alliance and the most influen-

tial supporter of the Austrian policy. She induced Louis XV. to conceal the matter from his ministers for a time, and to entrust the negotiations with Stahremberg to one of her own favorites, the Abbé de Bernis.

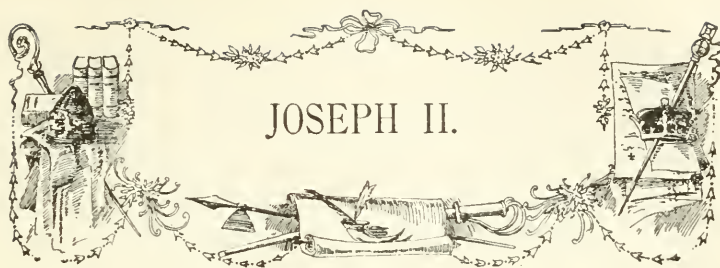
On the French side Bernis pointed out that the principality in the Netherlands for Don Philip was a very small price for Austria to pay for the recovery of Silesia and Glatz and the duchy of Parma. To induce France to take an active part in the war it would be necessary to cede to her all the Netherlands, except the portion set apart for the Spanish Infant. Kaunitz was quite willing to sacrifice the Netherlands, but he was conscious that such an increase of the power of France would excite the bitter hostility of the Maritime States, and would probably alienate those powers that might otherwise be allies. He offered therefore to cede the whole of the Netherlands to Don Philip, with the exception of those provinces which had at any previous period belonged to France. But he insisted that none of these promises should be fulfilled until Silesia and Glatz were actually recovered for Austria, and he demanded that France should earn such great advantages by sending an army into Germany, and by paying ample subsidies to Austria and her allies. Although Louis XV. and Madame de Pompadour had practically decided to accept the offers of Kaunitz, a definite agreement was postponed on account of the prepossession in favor of Prussia which existed among the French people and was shared by several of the ministers. The Austrian government, on the other hand, was impelled to haste by the attitude of Russia.

The Czarina Elizabeth had concluded the alliance with England simply out of hostility to Prussia, and in ratifying the treaty she had expressly stated that her troops should be employed against no other power. The Convention of Westminster, therefore, at once annulled the treaty of St. Petersburg: Elizabeth not only refused the English subsidies, but was filled with bitter indignation. She determined to have revenge at any rate, and offered to join Maria Theresa with 80,000 men against Prussia, and not to lay down her arms until Silesia and Glatz had been conquered. Nor was this the only loss to which the Czarina wished to subject Frederic. Prussia proper

was to return to Poland, with the exception of Courland and Sengallen, which Russia demanded for itself. Saxony was to have Magdeburg; Sweden, Prussian Pomerania, and Frederic was to be left with little besides the original Marks of Brandenburg. Kaunitz was encouraged by so favorable an offer, but he was compelled to moderate the ardor of his ally, lest any premature aggression on the part of Russia should induce France to break off the negotiations. Elizabeth was urged to wait patiently until the alliance had been concluded. Nothing could contribute more to this result than that Frederic should put himself in the wrong by breaking the peace.

Meanwhile, Frederic, by means that were characteristic of the employer, had obtained sufficient if not complete information of the designs that were being formed against him. The result was seen in energetic military preparations and the massing of troops on the Prussian frontier. Austria was extremely alarmed at this. Bohemia was defenceless, and any attempt to increase the forces in that province might induce Frederic to attack it. Moreover, the government desired to postpone active operations until the next year, when the arrangements with France would be completed. But Frederic, with his accustomed audacity of resolution, was determined to strike the first blow. On the 26th of August, 1756, he commenced the Seven Years' War by advancing with his army, not as was expected into Bohemia, but into Saxony.—R. LODGE.





## JOSEPH II.



JOSEPH II., Emperor of Germany, is the most noted example in history of an autocrat who failed in accomplishing his well-meant designs for the welfare of his people, because they were far in advance of what his people desired or were ready for. He was himself convinced of his failure, but now his countrymen have learned to appreciate his wisdom and foresight, and revere his memory as the sovereign who reigned for them, the benevolent paternal despot.

Joseph II. was the son of Francis of Lorraine and the Empress-queen, Maria Theresa, and was born at Vienna, on the 13th of March, 1741. The court in which he was brought up was distinguished for its strict morals and thoroughly devotional spirit. At the age of nineteen, he married the Princess Isabella, the Infanta of Parma. In 1765 his father died, and Joseph succeeded without opposition to the imperial crown. No part, however, of his father's patrimonial dominion fell to his share. His mother was, in her own right, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and sovereign of Austria and the Low Countries, and although Joseph was nominally admitted to the co-regency, he obtained little real power of government. As far as he was permitted to act, he displayed liberal ideas of public improvement, and a desire to lighten the burdens of the people.



In 1769 Joseph, under the name of Count Falkenstein, paid a visit to Frederic the Great, King of Prussia, at Neiss, in Silesia. The result of this interview, and of a subsequent meeting at Neustadt, appeared in the First Partition of Poland between Austria, Prussia and Russia, which was successfully urged by him upon the empress. Joseph had already greatly admired the Prussian king and his military system. The long reign of his mother and the little share he was allowed to enjoy in the administration, left him at leisure to gratify his thirst for useful knowledge. The emperor traveled over his dominions without pomp or ostentation, and sought to learn by direct observation the condition of his subjects, and particularly that of the lowest classes. He was always cheerful, polite, temperate, and indefatigable. In the summer of 1780 Joseph had an interview with the Empress Catharine II., of Russia, and accompanied her to St. Petersburg, where he maintained his simple style of living amid all the magnificence of that splendid court.

The death of Maria Theresa, in November, 1780, left the emperor, who was now forty years of age, free to pursue the schemes which he had long been revolving in his mind. One of his first innovations was to combine the various nationalities subject to him into a single state, with thirteen administrative districts, and a regular system of subordinate divisions. He declared that in future there should be no more provinces, but one nation, one family, one empire. He also declared that his greatest honor would be to rule over freemen. He therefore proposed to deliver the peasants from feudal oppression, and abolished serfdom entirely in the royal domains in Bohemia. He established a protective tariff, while he removed the provincial custom-houses. He endeavored to open new outlets for the products of Hungary by securing free navigation of the Danube. He hoped, by encouraging industry and fostering manufactures and commerce, to infuse into the great political mass a force proportionate to its size. He sought to diminish the excessive power of the Church, against which his mother had also struggled in a milder way. He required the religious communities to be under the direction of some native provincial, and commanded all briefs and bulls from the Pope

to be examined by ecclesiastical and lay courts, whose report should be submitted to the emperor for sanction before they should be promulgated. He issued an edict granting toleration and freedom of worship to all non-Catholics, meaning thereby Protestants and members of the Greek Church, and an extension of privileges to his Jewish subjects. He suppressed the Inquisition at Milan, restricted the mendicant orders from begging, directed the sale of landed property belonging to the Church, in order to provide better salaries for the poorer clergy. The censorship of books was transferred from the clergy to laymen of liberal principles, while complete freedom was granted to journalism. Joseph, though not a person of literary or artistic taste, nor showing any special favor to authors, endeavored to promote the education of all classes of his people, and contributed more to the advancement of learning during his short reign than any other sovereign of his age. He founded a university at Lemberg, a medical college at Vienna, and schools in various parts of his dominions. He showed his desire for public economy by his regulations relative to pensions, and by retrenching many which had been granted by the benevolence of his mother.

The demands on his time caused by this new policy in his home government did not prevent his attention to foreign and provincial affairs. In 1781, on a journey to take possession of his territories in the Low Countries, he caused the line of fortresses, known as the Dutch barrier, which was garrisoned by their forces, to be dismantled. He declared his purpose of raising Ostend to a first-class commercial port, and of opening the navigation of the Scheldt. His journey was extended into Holland, where he examined everything which might be adopted as an improvement in his own states. His return to Vienna was marked by still more decisive steps in ecclesiastical reform. Many convents were suppressed throughout all his dominions; and, in an imperial rescript, all subordination to the Holy See was formally disclaimed. Pope Pius VI., in the hope of checking the Emperor, paid him a visit at Vienna, and was received with all demonstrations of outward respect, but after a six weeks' sojourn was only successful in obtaining a respite for some threatened religious

houses. Having determined to introduce the same system of civil and ecclesiastical government into the Low Countries, Joseph, early in 1787, issued two edicts tending to repeal the ancient forms of administering justice, and to destroy their charter of rights, termed the "Joyous Entry." Such a determined spirit of resistance did these edicts stir up in the states of Brabant, that Joseph thought it wise to yield, and the "Joyous Entry" was re-established in full force.

The emperor held, in 1787, a second interview with Catharine II., at her new city of Kherson, in which he seems to have been brought to entire concurrence in all her schemes of policy. War with the Turks was declared in February, 1788, and Joseph repaired in person to the banks of the Danube, where he had assembled the flower of his army from all parts of his dominions. A destructive campaign ensued, in which the Turks fought with more than their usual skill and valor, while the Austrian arms lost much of their reputation. The Russians co-operated but little with their allies, and the capture of Choczim was almost the only trophy of their united exertions. The Austrians, through sickness, desertion, and the sword, were reduced to half their number, and the emperor's health received an irreparable shock. The campaign of the following year was more successful. The Austrians, joined by the Russians, took Bender and other places, and the Turkish empire seemed verging to ruin.

Meantime, Joseph II., laboring under a rapid decline of health, was unable to leave Vienna, though he continued to employ himself indefatigably in public affairs. These, however, were mostly of a kind to aggravate by vexation and anxiety his bodily suffering. The Low Countries were again in flame. By a series of violent measures, the people were intimidated into submission, and martial rule was established throughout the provinces. In the autumn of 1789 an open insurrection broke out, conducted with so much vigor that the imperial troops were repeatedly defeated, the cities of Ghent, Bruges, Louvain, and others, were taken possession of by the insurgents, and on the 20th of November, the states of Flanders seized the government of the province, openly declaring that the emperor had forfeited all title to sovereignty.

A treaty was soon formed between all the Belgic provinces as independent states. Joseph was further mortified on his death-bed by a lofty remonstrance from the Hungarian nobility, demanding the restoration of their ancient rights and privileges. In pursuance of his policy of unification of the empire, he had refused to be crowned King of Hungary, or to summon the Hungarian Diet, insisted that the country should be governed as a province, and made German the official language there as elsewhere. Wishing to die in peace, Joseph consented to all their requirements, but insisted on retaining three articles, which did him honor: A general toleration—provision for the parochial clergy out of the revenues of suppressed monasteries—and certain concessions in favor of the freedom of the serfs. He expired on February 20th, 1790, in the forty-ninth year of his age. His only daughter had died in childhood, so that he was succeeded by his brother Leopold II.

Joseph II. possessed many of the qualities of a great and good sovereign; but he overshot the mark. His restless desire of innovation, and perpetual pursuit of projects adopted without full consideration of the obstacles to be overcome, rendered his reign an incessant struggle, ending with the defeat of most of the plans which he had formed, either for the public improvement or the increase of his own authority. On his death-bed he himself said, "I would have engraven on my tomb, 'Here lies the sovereign who, with the best intentions, never carried a single project into execution.' " This, however, is too gloomy a view of his career. More correct is the inscription on the pedestal of his statue erected in Vienna, in 1807: "To Joseph the Second, who for the public welfare lived not long, but wholly."

#### THE GERMANIC LEAGUE.

Bavaria contained a population of 1,200,000 souls, whose number might, under an able administration, be soon doubled, and yield a revenue of 60,000,000 florins, capable of considerable increase by the augmentation of the taxes, and by the suppression of several convents, whose annual income exceeded 2,000,000 florins. The possession of Bavaria would

unite the German dominions and Hungarian provinces into a compact and solid mass, and extend the Austrian territories and influence, in a continued line from the confines of Poland and Turkey to the frontiers of Alsace and the shores of the Mediterranean. Foiled in his attempts to acquire Bavaria by force of arms, Joseph now endeavored to obtain his object by different means.

He maintained that influence over the cabinet of Munich which he had acquired during the negotiations for the Peace of 'Teschén, and finally persuaded the elector to exchange Bavaria for the Netherlands (Namur and Luxemburg excepted), to be erected into a kingdom, with the revived title of Austrasia or Burgundy. He was well aware that as the acquisition of Bavaria would render him the virtual sovereign of all the south of Germany, the exchange would meet with a decided opposition from the King of Prussia; from the princes and states of the Empire; from Great Britain and Holland, without whose concurrence as joint guarantors of the Barrier Treaty, the Netherlands could not be alienated; from the King of Sardinia, who could not without a jealous eye behold the house of Austria connecting Bavaria with the Tyrol, and thus obtaining a free access into Italy, and from his subjects in the Netherlands, who would object to the transfer of their country as an infringement of their liberties.

Joseph foresaw these obstacles, and did not neglect the necessary precautions to render them ineffectual. By co-operating against the Turks he had already secured the assistance of Russia; he had gained France by the offer of Namur and Luxemburg, and looked forward with confidence to her zealous concurrence. He considered Great Britain as not yet recovered from the distresses occasioned by the American contest, and as both unable and unwilling to enter into a continental war in support of the Barrier Treaty. He hoped to gain the United Provinces by offering to relinquish his demands for the free navigation of the Scheldt, and for the cession of Maestricht, and by lowering his claims; or if mild and conciliating measures failed of success, he resolved to extort their consent by an army of 80,000 men, who were marching towards the Low Countries.



But he principally founded his hopes of success on the active assistance of Russia, and Catharine prepared, with unabated zeal, to promote the meditated exchange. In January, 1785, Count Romanzoff, her minister at Frankfort, made a verbal proposal to the Duke of Deux Ponts, requesting his concurrence, as presumptive heir of Charles Theodore, to the cession of Upper and Lower Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate, the duchy of Newburg, the principality of Sultzbach, and the landgraviate of Leuchtenberg; in return the elector was to receive the Austrian Netherlands, except Namur and Luxemburg, with the title of King of Burgundy. The consent of the elector, he added, had been already obtained, and France and Russia would guarantee the exchange. On the score of population, revenue, and local situation, he magnified the advantages on the side of the elector, requested the duke to give an answer within eight days, and peremptorily declared that his opposition would not prevent the exchange.

But this deep-laid scheme of policy was again thwarted by the great rival of the house of Austria, who, at the advanced age of seventy-four, still retained the spirit and vigilance which had distinguished his early years. Frederic again privately offered his protection, and encouraged the Duke of Deux Ponts to reject the proposal. By his advice the duke publicly appealed to France, Prussia, and Russia, as guarantors of the Peace of Teschen; by his suggestion, also, the states of Bavaria presented a strong remonstrance against the projected exchange; by his representations the princes and states of Germany were roused by an exaggerated list of grievances, and the precipitate and arbitrary conduct of Joseph was delineated in the most glowing colors. Frederic expatiated on the unjust claims of the Emperor to the Bavarian succession, exposed his total disregard for treaties by the resumption of the Barrier towns, and the proposal for opening the navigation of the Scheldt, and excited a serious apprehension lest the same principles should be extended to the affairs of Germany. He at the same time made a spirited remonstrance to the court of Versailles, accused them of being bribed by the offer of Luxemburg and Namur to acquiesce in so flagrant a violation of public law and the constitutions of

the Empire, and testified his resolution to spend his last moments in asserting the liberties of Germany against the tyranny of its chief.

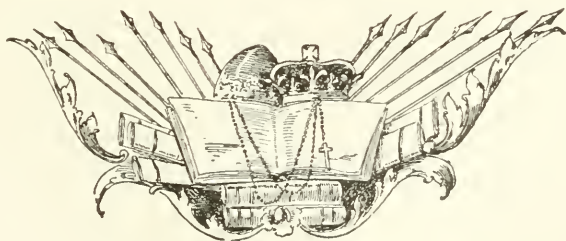
A general alarm was thus spread from one part of the Empire to the other, and the Elector of Bavaria, in consequence of a demand made by the states of the duchy, delivered a notification, asserting that the reports of a convention between him and the Emperor were unfounded, and that the only treaty which he had concluded related to an adjustment of limits, which he communicated to them.

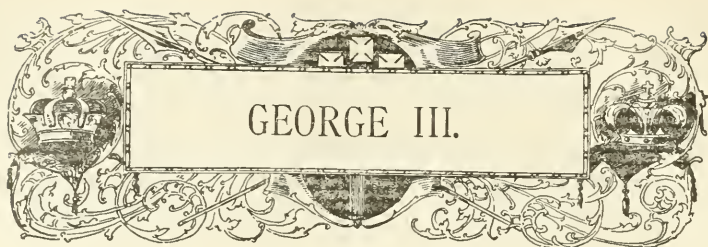
Joseph had now reduced himself to a critical dilemma. He appeared as much astonished at this sudden and decided opposition as if he had not foreseen the smallest obstacle, and had expected an unlimited obedience to his dictates. He first preserved a sullen silence; but at length disavowed any intention of extorting the acquiescence of the Duke of Deux Ponts, while he asserted the legality of the exchange, if made with the consent of all parties. He insinuated that he had not authorized the proposals of the Russian minister; and Catharine endeavored to save the honor of the Emperor by declaring that she had ordered Count Romanzoff to suggest the exchange, from a conviction that the advantages to both parties would be reciprocal; but as the Duke of Deux Ponts had declined acceding, she had no intention to enforce its execution. France also made the same declaration.

This disavowal did not satisfy either the King of Prussia or the princes and states of Germany; for, as it appeared, as well from the manifestoes of France and Russia, as from the declarations of the emperor, that the plan had been relinquished, not from any conviction of its injustice or impropriety, but because the Duke of Deux Ponts had withheld his consent, it followed that should, on any future occasion, the house of Austria be enabled to obtain the concurrence of that branch of the Palatine family, the exchange might yet be effected, notwithstanding the stipulations of the Peace of Teschen. The King of Prussia therefore proposed to revive the League of Schmalkald, and formed the Germanic Union, or confederacy of the princes and states, for maintaining the indivisibility of the Germanic body in general, and of the

respective states in particular. This union, signed at Berlin on the 23d of July, 1785, between the King of Prussia, the King of Great Britain (as Elector of Hanover), and the Elector of Saxony, was afterwards joined by the Elector of Mentz, the Margrave of Anspach, the Duke of Deux Ponts, and other princes; and under the ostensible pretext of preserving the constitution of the Empire, became a formidable bar to the encroachments of the house of Austria.

Filled with resentment and alarmed with apprehensions of this league, Joseph in vain represented it as founded on the ambitious and interested views of the King of Prussia, whom he contemptuously styled Anti-Cæsar, as tending rather to disturb than promote the peace of the Empire, and as imposing shackles on the princes and states; he also attempted to form a counter-confederation, and prepared for immediate hostilities. But the general disapprobation of the German states, the vigorous preparations of Prussia, the firm countenance of the confederate princes, the indecision of the Elector of Bavaria, the conviction that France would not engage in a war to support his pretensions, that Holland was neither to be intimidated by menaces nor lured by promises, and that Great Britain was resolved to oppose the transfer of the Austrian Netherlands, the rising discontents in Hungary, and an insurrection in Transylvania, scarcely quelled, compelled him to adopt pacific views, and finally to relinquish the projected exchange.—W. COXE.





THE reign of George III. was a most important period in English history, marked by great vicissitudes, great wars, and great political struggles, in which the king himself took part. It was the last reign in which the personal feelings of the sovereign caused the dismissal of min-

isters and seriously affected the progress of events.

George William Frederic was the son of Frederic, Prince of Wales, and grandson of George II. He was born on the 4th of June, 1738. He was the first of the Hanoverian line born and bred in England. After the death of his father, in 1751, he was brought up privately under the care of his mother and the Earl of Bute. He succeeded to the throne in 1760. He had fallen in love with Lady Sarah Lennox, but he was induced by his constitutional advisers to marry the Princess Charlotte, of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and at the marriage, in 1761, Lady Lennox was one of the bridesmaids.

King George had been trained to high notions of the royal prerogative, and was determined to restore the Tories to power. The first William Pitt, who had given glory to the



English name throughout the world, was therefore dismissed in 1761, and a peace policy substituted for that of hostility to France. Several ministries followed, which had but brief terms, because the "king's friends" in Parliament voted one way or the other at his bidding. The first important question which arose was concerning the right to tax America for part of the expenses of the war. Both king and people fully believed that Parliament had this right in regard to any part of the empire. During the discussion provoked by the resistance in America, Lord North became prime minister in 1770. To carry out the views of the king, he endeavored to compel the people of Boston to submit by military force, but only provoked a stronger and wider opposition. The Americans took up arms to maintain their rights as British subjects not represented in Parliament, but ere long demanded their rights as men. George III. persisted in the effort to put down the rebels, and even after Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga in 1777, was warmly supported by the mass of Englishmen in his determination. Lord North, however, convinced of the hopelessness of his task after the French had formed an alliance with the United States, wished to retire and give place to the Earl of Chatham, but the king would not allow him to do so.

The year 1780 was marked by disgraceful riots in London, in which Lord George Gordon was the leader, and the cry was, "No Popery." There were other popular movements, and the demand for greater economy in the expenditures of the court was a symptom of the general discontent. The surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, soon after different expectations had been kindled by his victory at Guilford Court-house, compelled Lord North to resign, and the Whigs returned to power under Lord Rockingham. Lord Rodney's victory over the French fleet in the West Indies tended to remove the gloom. A provisional treaty with the United States was made in 1782, and on September 3, 1783, the definitive treaties with France, Spain, and the United States, were completed at Paris. When John Adams called upon the king, as the first minister from the United States, the king frankly declared his sentiments: "Sir, I wish you to believe,



and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do by the duty I owed to my people. I will be very frank with you. I was the last to consent to the separation ; but the separation having been made and having become inevitable, I have always said, and say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power."

Lord Rockingham had died in 1782, and his followers, of whom Charles J. Fox was the leading spirit, wished the Duke of Portland to get the place. But the king gave it to Lord Shelburne ; to drive him from power, Fox formed the famous "Coalition" with his old enemy, North, and was successful. Their large majority in both houses of Parliament made them attempt a great innovation—the transfer of the government of India from the East India Company to commissioners appointed by Parliament. The king, however, authorized Lord Temple to let it be known that he would consider any peer who voted for the bill as his enemy. At the present day such an interference would be considered utterly reprehensible ; but George had determined to win, and probably knew that the people were on his side. The bill, which had been drawn up by Burke, was accordingly rejected, and the king at once dismissed the ministry. The second William Pitt was made prime minister, and entered into a remarkable struggle for three months against the majority of the House of Commons. After the work of the Parliament was completed, it was dissolved in March, 1784. The elections gave the young minister a strong majority in the new Parliament.

The king, also, was strongly entrenched in the affections of the people. His private life was most exemplary, and helped to give a new impulse to religion and morality in the nation, though his own sons sought refuge from the dullness of the court in profligate courses. The king had no taste for literature or art, but he gave liberally to assist the Royal Academy then just founded. He took interest in agriculture and the promotion of industrial enterprises.

In 1788 the king's mind became visibly affected with insanity, and an earnest discussion took place in the House of

Commons as to the limitations of the regency rendered necessary. Before it was concluded, the king recovered, under the mild management of Dr. Willis. In the following April he returned thanks publicly in St. Paul's church for his recovery, and the occasion was improved by the people to give a remarkable testimonial of their personal devotion to the sovereign.

The outbreak of the French Revolution intensified this devotion. The Whig nobility who had formerly resisted him, as well as all lovers of order, acquiesced heartily in all movements for war with France, into which Pitt was forced against his own judgment; and in spite of accumulating debt and crushing defeats, returned again and again to Parliament the followers of Pitt. Under the leadership of this minister, the union of Ireland with England was accomplished by wholesale bribery. But when the king learned that Pitt was preparing to relieve the Roman Catholics of their political disabilities, his conscience revolted against a measure the acceptance of which he believed to be a violation of his coronation oath. No argument could convince him otherwise. Pitt, who had promised this measure while scheming for the union, was therefore compelled to resign, and the agitation of the whole matter brought on a return of the king's insanity. But he speedily recovered, and Mr. Addington became prime minister.

Peace with France soon followed. Yet the king, as well as the people of England, were convinced that war would soon be resumed. They watched anxiously the movements of Napoleon Bonaparte, now First Consul of France, and saw that he was even preparing for the invasion of England. In May, 1803, Parliament agreed to the declaration of war, and in the following autumn the king reviewed the London Volunteers in Hyde Park. Addington was plainly not capable of conducting the government at such a crisis, and Pitt was recalled to his former place. He wished to introduce to the administration the prominent leaders of both parties, but the king would not allow Fox to be admitted. He disliked Fox personally, as having had much to do with drawing the Prince of Wales into open profligacy.

Crushed by the news of Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz,

Pitt died in January, 1806, and the king, overcome at last, allowed Fox to appear in the new ministry of "all the talents." Before long the king acknowledged the attractiveness of Fox's manners, but in September he was called to mourn his death. The king continued to be strenuous in his opposition to any concession to the Catholics, and would not even allow them to serve as officers in the army and navy. Finding the ministers anxious to grant some relief to the Catholics, he sought from them a pledge not to propose any measures of that kind. When they refused they were dismissed, and a new ministry under the Duke of Portland was installed. In this movement the king had also the support of the people, as was proved in the Parliamentary elections of 1807. Two years later Perceval, who had been the real leader of the Portland cabinet, was made prime minister without any change of policy.

In 1811 Princess Amelia, George's youngest and favorite daughter, died, and the king's mind finally gave way. He was also afflicted with loss of sight, yet he lingered on for nine years, a pitiable wreck. He died on the 29th of January, 1820. He had nine sons and six daughters. Two of his sons, George and William, came to the throne; and another, Edward Augustus, Duke of Kent, was the father of Queen Victoria.

#### GEORGE, BE A KING.

As long as his mother lived—a dozen years after his marriage with the little spinet-player—George was a great shy, awkward boy under the tutelage of that hard parent. She must have been a clever, domineering, cruel woman. She kept her household lonely and in gloom, mistrusting almost all people who came about her children. Seeing the young Duke of Gloucester silent and unhappy once, she sharply asked him the cause of his silence. "I am thinking," said the poor child. "Thinking, sir! and of what?" "I am thinking if ever I have a son I will not make him so unhappy as you make me." The other sons were all wild, except George. Dutifully every evening George and Charlotte paid their visit to the king's mother at Carlton House. She had a throat-

complaint, of which she died; but to the last persisted in driving about the streets to show she was alive. The night before her death the resolute woman talked with her son and daughter-in-law as usual, went to bed, and was found dead there in the morning. "George, be a king!" were the words which she was for ever croaking in the ears of her son; and a king the simple, stubborn, affectionate, bigoted man tried to be.

He did his best; he worked according to his lights; what virtue he knew, he tried to practice; what knowledge he could master, he strove to acquire. He was forever drawing maps, for example, and learned geography with no small care and industry. He knew all about the family histories and genealogies of his gentry, and pretty histories he must have known. He knew the whole *Army List*; and all the facings, and the exact number of the buttons, and all the tags and laces, and the cut of all the cocked-hats, pigtails, and gaiters in his army. He knew the *personnel* of the Universities; what doctors were inclined to Socinianism, and who were sound Churchmen; he knew the etiquettes of his own and his grandfather's courts to a nicety, and the smallest particulars regarding the routine of ministers, secretaries, embassies, audiences; the humblest page in the anteroom, or the meanest helper in the stables or kitchen. These parts of the royal business he was capable of learning, and he learned. But, as one thinks of an office, almost divine, performed by any mortal man—of any single being pretending to control the thoughts, to direct the faith, to order the implicit obedience of brother millions, to compel them into war at his offence or quarrel; to command, "In this way you shall trade, in this way you shall think; these neighbors shall be your allies whom you shall help, these others your enemies whom you shall slay at my orders; in this way you shall worship God;"—who can wonder that, when such a man as George took such an office on himself, punishment and humiliation should fall upon people and chief?

Yet there is something grand about his courage. The battle of the king with his aristocracy remains yet to be told by the historian who shall view the reign of George more justly than the trumpety panegyrists who wrote immediately after his decease. It was he, with the people to back him,

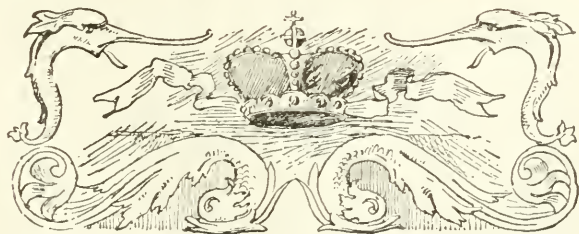
who made the war with America; it was he and the people who refused justice to the Roman Catholics; and on both questions he beat the patricians. He bribed: he bullied: he darkly dissembled on occasion: he exercised a slippery perseverance, and a vindictive resolution, which one almost admires as one thinks his character over. His courage was never to be beat. It trampled North under foot: it bent the stiff neck of the younger Pitt: even his illness never conquered that indomitable spirit. As soon as his brain was clear, it resumed the scheme, only laid aside when his reason left him: as soon as his hands were out of the strait-waistcoat, they took up the pen and the plan which had engaged him up to the moment of his malady. I believe it is by persons believing themselves in the right that nine-tenths of the tyranny of this world has been perpetrated. Arguing on that convenient premise, the Dey of Algiers would cut off twenty heads of a morning. Protestants were roasted, Jesuits hung and quartered at Smithfield, and witches burned at Salem, and all by worthy people, who believed they had the best authority for their actions.

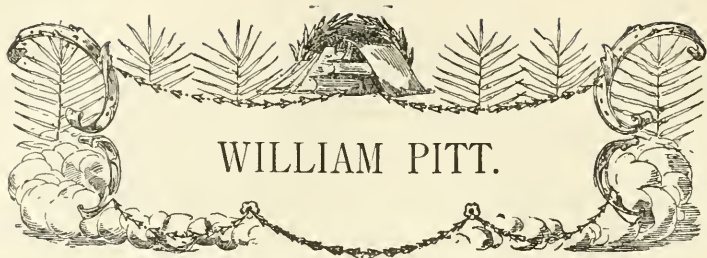
And so, with respect to old George, even Americans, whom he hated and who conquered him, may give him credit for having quite honest reasons for oppressing them. Appended to Lord Brougham's biographical sketch of Lord North are some autograph notes of the king, which let us most curiously into the state of his mind. "The times certainly require," says he, "the concurrence of all who wish to prevent anarchy. I have no wish but the prosperity of my own dominions, therefore I must look upon all who would not heartily assist me as bad men, as well as bad subjects." That is the way he reasoned. "I wish nothing but good, therefore every man who does not agree with me is a traitor and a scoundrel." Remember that he believed himself anointed by a Divine commission; remember that he was a man of slow parts and imperfect education; that the same awful will of Heaven which placed a crown upon his head, which made him tender to his family, pure in his life, courageous and honest, made him dull of comprehension, obstinate of will, and at many times deprived him of reason. He was the father of his people; his rebellious children must be flogged into obedience. He was



the defender of the Protestant faith ; he would rather lay that stout head upon the block than that Catholics should have a share in the government of England. And you do not suppose that there are not honest bigots enough in all countries to back kings in this kind of statesmanship? Without doubt the American war was popular in England. In 1775 the address in favor of coercing the colonies was carried by 304 to 105 in the Commons, by 104 to 29 in the House of Lords. Popular?—so was the Revocation of the *Édict of Nantes* popular in France : so was the *Massacre of Saint Bartholomew* : so was the *Inquisition* exceedingly popular in Spain.

King George's household was a model of an English gentleman's household. It was early ; it was kindly ; it was charitable ; it was frugal ; it was orderly ; it must have been stupid to a degree which I shudder now to contemplate. No wonder all the princes ran away from the lap of that dreary domestic virtue. It always rose, rode, dined at stated intervals. Day after day was the same. At the same hour at night the king kissed his daughters' jolly cheeks ; the princesses kissed their mother's hand ; and *Madame Thielke* brought the royal nightcap. At the same hour the equerries and women in waiting had their little dinner, and cackled over their tea. The king had his backgammon or his evening concert ; the equerries yawned themselves to death in the anteroom ; or the king and his family walked on *Windsor slopes*, the king holding his darling little *Princess Amelia* by the hand ; and the people crowded round quite good-naturedly ; and the *Eton* boys thrust their chubby cheeks under the crowd's elbows ; and, the concert over, the king never failed to take his enormous cocked-hat off, and salute his band, and say, "Thank you, gentlemen."—W. M. THACKERAY.





WILLIAM PITT, the Great Commoner of England, was destined by birth and training as the great son of a great father for the leadership which he attained. After proving his supremacy in a momentous crisis, and being accepted by king and commons as the foreordained representative of the nation, he was driven into contest with an ambitious and unscrupulous despot, who was able to array against all the resources of conservatism the enthusiasm and indomitable energy of democracy. He formed and sustained the great coalition against the French conqueror, but for want of generals he could not enable its armies to win victories in the field. Though he had set on foot the opposition which was eventually to overwhelm the greatest soldier of the modern world, he died at an early age heart-broken at his want of success.

William Pitt was born at Hayes, on the 28th of May, 1759. His father was then at the height of his popularity and power; under his direction the British Empire was enlarged in almost every quarter of the globe. But when a few years later the father had been advanced to the House of Lords, he no longer retained that popularity and power. He hoped, however, that his own eminence would be revived in his son, and spared no pains to train him for such high destiny. That he might early acquire fluency of speech and self-confidence as an orator, the father made the boy declaim before his friends and guests from a table or chair. The boy was even

more ambitious of succeeding to his father's eminence. Being of feeble frame, though intensely active mind, he was well trained at home by tutors, until, at the age of fifteen, he went to Pembroke College, Cambridge. Here also he associated chiefly with his tutor, showing industrious, regular and moral habits, and became so well versed in both classics and mathematics, as to excite general astonishment at his attainments. He received the degree of M. A. in 1776, but continued his studies at college. He was present at the memorable scene when his father fell stricken in the House of Lords. (See Vol. VIII., p. 351.) After his father's death he studied law at Lincoln's Inn, and was called to the bar as soon as he was of age.

In January, 1781, Pitt entered Parliament, and soon displayed special talent in debate. He was then in the opposition, and showed that he inherited his father's abhorrence for the war then waged with the American States. Burke is said to have exclaimed after hearing his first speech, "It is not a chip of the old, it is the old block itself." His genius was speedily acknowledged, and early in the next year when the Rockingham ministry came into power he was offered a lucrative position in the gift of the crown, but promptly declined it. He boldly advocated extreme measures for reform, which were becoming popular in Great Britain as well as France under the influence of the triumph of republican principles in America. In May, 1782, he brought in a motion for reform in the representation of the people in Parliament, and though not successful, it obtained a higher vote than such a proposal ever received until nearly half a century had elapsed.

Pitt, though but twenty-three years of age, had already announced that he would accept no post that would not give him a seat in the cabinet, and though he afterwards expressed regret for the saying, his boldness won public approval. When Lord Rockingham died, after three months' tenure of office, his cabinet, which had been inharmonious and was disliked by the king, fell to pieces. Lord Shelburne, being made prime minister, offered Pitt the great place of Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was under this administration that the

treaty acknowledging the independence of the United States was completed and ratified. The great parliamentary orator, Charles J. Fox, had welcomed Pitt's advent to political life, and hitherto they had agreed in their aims. But Fox was personally opposed to Shelburne, and, refusing to serve under him, made the famous "Coalition" with his former antagonist, Lord North. Its object was simply to drive Shelburne from power, and for this purpose Fox and North united in attacking the treaties. The ministry was defeated twice in the House of Commons, and Lord Shelburne resigned. After weeks in which the king sought to avoid the event, a new ministry was formed under the Duke of Portland, in which Fox was the ruling spirit. Pitt refused a place in this cabinet. During the following summer Pitt made his only visit to the Continent, and was received in Paris with popular enthusiasm.

In December, 1783, the Coalition ministry, which had a powerful majority in both Houses of Parliament, brought in a bill reorganizing the government of India. In spite of many objections both in and out of Parliament, it passed the House of Commons and had reached second reading in the House of Lords, when it was discovered that the king was opposed to the bill. The Lords rejected the bill, and the king dismissed the Coalition. Pitt was now made First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister. He was but twenty-four years old. There had never been so young a premier, and few have been called to so arduous a task. He did not immediately dissolve Parliament, though the public feeling was in his favor. By his able championship, in spite of a powerful opposition in the House of Commons, the king was able to defeat the political aristocracy. After the supplies had been regularly voted, Parliament was dissolved, and in the new election Pitt, who was chosen for the University of Cambridge, won the greatest of his triumphs. The favorite of both king and people became the greatest of parliamentary rulers.

As financial minister he introduced in 1786 a new form of sinking fund, which was supposed to effect a partial extinction of the national debt. He also arranged various altera-

tions in the mode of collecting the taxes, so as to render them more productive and to prevent frauds and defalcations. Meantime it was found that Great Britain, which had been regarded by other nations as most seriously damaged by the loss of her American colonies, was really more wealthy and powerful than she had ever been. Commerce and manufactures were flourishing. The people and the nation were prosperous.

King George III., who had previously been somewhat unpopular, now secured the full favor of his subjects. Unfortunately in 1788 he became insane. A parliamentary struggle took place over the regency, which, Fox contended, devolved at once upon the Prince of Wales, while Pitt maintained that it rested with Parliament to appoint the regent. Before the dispute was decided, the king recovered. For a few years more Pitt's ministry embodied enlightened progress in constitutional liberty. He was not able to induce Parliament to reform the mode of representation, but he assisted Wilberforce in mitigating the horrors of the slave-trade and he favored the freedom of the press, though, at a later stage, he reversed his action.

The great international conflict with which Pitt's name is inseparably connected was brought on by the outbreak of the French Revolution. Whatever were his youthful predilections in favor of popular liberty, he could never countenance the overthrow of monarchy and other established institutions of government. He shared in the reaction in public feeling which took place in England and other parts of the world against the mad crusade for freedom and indiscriminate slaughter which raged in France. While he hoped to preserve peace, he was compelled to engage in war. But his fault was that he did not conduct that war with the heartiness which the nation would have supported and which the necessities of the occasion demanded. He did less for his Continental allies than had been done in the days of Marlborough. The young minister of the constitutional monarchy was compelled to measure his strength with the young military despot of France. Yet instead of rousing to its utmost that national enthusiasm which was ready and eager to



respond to his voice, he rather sought to repress it. All the time his domination of Parliament was increasing in spite of the increase of taxation beyond precedent, the suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England, a daring mutiny in the fleet, and unparalleled disasters abroad, which would have driven a less able minister from power. Those very disasters at home and abroad roused the spirit of the nation and stimulated the forces which supported the minister. His great Parliamentary rival, Fox, had early been deserted by Burke, and finally abandoned the struggle and retired to private life.

Meantime, Pitt suppressed with extreme severity the outcroppings of republicanism and Jacobinism in Great Britain. Obsolete laws against the freedom of the press were revived and enforced. In Ireland there was an open rebellion in 1798, which was put down by force of arms. Pitt, recognizing the inherent difficulties of the English government there, sought to overcome them, at least in part, by two measures—the union of the Irish parliament with that of Great Britain, and the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities. The former was accomplished on the 1st of January, 1801; but the king refused his assent, and Pitt, who had promised that this would be done and could have carried it through Parliament, was obliged to resign on that account in March following. The king's agitation brought on a recurrence of his malady, and there was an interregnum of some weeks. On his recovery, Addington, who had been Speaker of the House of Commons, was called to form a ministry, and for a time did his work sufficiently well. The treaty of Amiens had restored peace on the Continent, and England had time to recuperate.

In 1803, Napoleon, then First Consul, began to show new animosity against England. Soon war was declared, and an invasion of England threatened. The weakness of the Addington ministry was revealed, and its head resigned. Pitt was again called to form a ministry, and wished to include Fox, but the king obstinately opposed his admission on personal grounds, and Pitt reluctantly yielded. But other Whig leaders now declined, and the new cabinet was shorn of the power which Pitt had desired to command. Meantime, although Russia and Austria had combined with England,

Napoleon's genius had led him to astonishing triumphs on the Continent. Though Nelson's victory at Trafalgar gave a transient gleam to the prospect, the news of the battle of Austerlitz proved a death-knell to the English minister. When Parliament met, the prime minister was dying, and there was no debate. The end came on the 23d of January, 1806, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the day he entered Parliament. He was honored with a public funeral and was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 22d of February.

Pitt's greatness was not assisted by grace of person or countenance. Both were marked with extreme haughtiness and severity. It has been said that he never was truly young; he never had the freshness, naturalness and openness of youth; he grew old before his time. He was never married; he was too busy to pay attention to the fair sex. Though scrupulously strict in morals, he sustained his feeble frame amid his Herculean labors with too copious draughts of wine. His personal integrity was never impeached; his mind was elevated above the meanness of avarice. He repeatedly refused lucrative positions when his income was narrow. But when he was in receipt of ample revenues, he took no care of his household expenses, and was deep in debt, while he bestowed offices worth thousands of pounds on his friends. He bestowed no patronage on literature or art. His ruling passion was the love of power, and this he attained by his grand oratory, in which he displayed his lofty pride, consciousness of his intellectual superiority, disdain for the feelings of others. This pride, though it offended many who came in contact with him, inspired his followers in Parliament and the mass of the nation with confidence in his abilities. These abilities, supported by eminent virtues, were grandly displayed in seasons of danger which would appall ordinary leaders.

#### ENGLAND REFUSES TO NEGOTIATE WITH FRANCE (1800).

On what grounds are we to be convinced that General Bonaparte has an interest in concluding and observing a solid and permanent pacification? Under all the circumstances of his personal character, and his newly acquired power, what

other security has he for retaining that power but the sword? His hold upon France is the sword, and he has no other. Is he connected with the soil, or with the habits, the affections, or the prejudices of the country? He is a stranger, a foreigner and a usurper. He unites in his own person everything that a pure republican must detest; everything that an enraged Jacobin has abjured; everything that a sincere and faithful royalist must feel as an insult. If he is opposed at any time in his career, what is his appeal? *He appeals to his fortune*; in other words, to his army and his sword.

Placing, then, his whole reliance upon military support, can he afford to let his military renown pass away, to let his laurels wither, to let the memory of his trophies sink in obscurity? Is it certain that, with his army confined within France, and restrained from inroads upon her neighbors, he can maintain, at his devotion, a force sufficiently numerous to support his power? Having no object but the possession of absolute dominion, no passion but military glory, is it to be reckoned as certain that he can feel such an interest in permanent peace as would justify us in laying down our arms, reducing our expense, and relinquishing our means of security, on the faith of his engagements? Do we believe that, after the conclusion of peace, he would not still sigh over the lost trophies of Egypt, wrested from him by the celebrated victory of Aboukir, and the brilliant exertions of that heroic band of British seamen, whose influence and example rendered the Turkish troops invincible at Acre? Can he forget that the effect of these exploits enabled Austria and Russia, in one campaign, to recover from France all which she had acquired by his victories, to dissolve the charm which for a time fascinated Europe, and to show that their generals, contending in a just cause, could efface, even by their success and their military glory, the most dazzling triumphs of his victorious and desolating ambition?

Can we believe, with these impressions on his mind, that if, after a year, eighteen months, or two years of peace had elapsed, he should be tempted by the appearance of fresh insurrection in Ireland, encouraged by renewed and unrestrained communication with France, and fomented by the

fresh infusion of Jacobin principles; if we were at such a moment without a fleet to watch the ports of France, or to guard the coasts of Ireland, without a disposable army, or an embodied militia, capable of supplying a speedy and adequate reinforcement, and that he had suddenly the means of transporting thither a body of twenty or thirty thousand French troops; can we believe that, at such a moment, his ambition and vindictive spirit would be restrained by the recollection of engagements or the obligation of treaty? Or if, in some new crisis of difficulty and danger to the Ottoman Empire, with no British navy in the Mediterranean, no confederacy formed, no force collected to support it, an opportunity should present itself for resuming the abandoned expedition to Egypt, for renewing the avowed and favorite project of conquering and colonizing that rich and fertile country, and of opening the way to wound some of the vital interests of England, and to plunder the treasures of the East, in order to fill the bankrupt coffers of France,—would it be the interest of Bonaparte, under such circumstances, or his principles, his moderation, his love of peace, his aversion to conquest, and his regard for the independence of other nations—would it be all or any of these that would secure us against an attempt which would leave us only the option of submitting without a struggle to certain loss and disgrace, or of renewing the contest which we had prematurely terminated, without allies, without preparation, with diminished means, and with increased difficulty and hazard?

Hitherto I have spoken only of the reliance which we can place on the professions, the character, and the conduct of the present First Consul; but it remains to consider the stability of his power. The Revolution has been marked throughout by a rapid succession of new depositaries of public authority, each supplanting its predecessor. What grounds have we to believe that this new usurpation, more odious and more undisguised than all that preceded it, will be more durable? Is it that we rely on the particular provisions contained in the code of the pretended Constitution, which was proclaimed as accepted by the French people as soon as the garrison of Paris declared their determination to exterminate all its enemies,

and before any of its articles could even be known to half the country, whose consent was required for its establishment?

I will not pretend to inquire deeply into the nature and effects of a Constitution which can hardly be regarded but as a farce and a mockery. If, however, it could be supposed that its provisions were to have any effect, it seems equally adapted to two purposes: that of giving to its founder, for a time, an absolute and uncontrolled authority; and that of laying the certain foundation of disunion and discord, which, if they once prevail, must render the exercise of all the authority under the Constitution impossible, and leave no appeal but to the sword.

Is, then, military despotism that which we are accustomed to consider as a stable form of government? In all ages of the world it has been attended with the least stability to the persons who exercised it, and with the most rapid succession of changes and revolutions. In the outset of the French Revolution, its advocates boasted that it furnished a security forever, not to France only, but to all countries in the world, against military despotism; that the force of standing armies was vain and delusive; that no artificial power could resist public opinion; and that it was upon the foundation of public opinion alone that any government could stand. I believe that in this instance, as in every other, the progress of the French Revolution has belied its professions; but, so far from its being a proof of the prevalence of public opinion against military force, it is, instead of the proof, the strongest exception from that doctrine which appears in the history of the world. Through all the stages of the Revolution military force has governed, and public opinion has scarcely been heard. But still I consider this as only an exception from a general truth. I still believe that in every civilized country, not enslaved by a Jacobin faction, public opinion is the only sure support of any government. I believe this with the more satisfaction, from a conviction that, if this contest is happily terminated, the established governments of Europe will stand upon that rock firmer than ever; and, whatever may be the defects of any particular Constitution, those who live under it will prefer its continuance to the experiment of changes which may plunge them into the unfathomable abyss of revolution,



or extricate them from it only to expose them to the terrors of military despotism. And to apply this to France, I see no reason to believe that the present usurpation will be more permanent than any other military despotism which has been established by the same means, and with the same defiance of public opinion.

What, then, is the inference I draw from all that I have now stated? Is it that we will in *no case* treat with Bonaparte? I say no such thing. But I say, as has been said in the answer returned to the French note, that we ought to wait for "*experience and the evidence of facts*" before we are convinced that such a treaty is admissible. The circumstances I have stated would well justify us if we should be slow in being convinced; but on a question of peace and war, everything depends upon degree and upon comparison. If, on the one hand, there should be an appearance that the policy of France is at length guided by different maxims from those which have hitherto prevailed; if we should hereafter see signs of stability in the government which are not now to be traced; if the progress of the allied army should not call forth such a spirit in France as to make it probable that the act of the country itself will destroy the system now prevailing; if the danger, the difficulty, the risk of continuing the contest should increase, while the hope of complete ultimate success should be diminished; all these, in their due place, are considerations which, with myself and, I can answer for it, with every one of my colleagues, will have their just weight. But at present these considerations all operate one way; at present there is nothing from which we can presage a favorable disposition to change in the French councils. There is the greatest reason to rely on powerful co-operation from our allies; there are the strongest marks of a disposition in the interior of France to active resistance against this new tyranny; and there is every ground to believe, on reviewing our situation and that of the enemy, that, if we are ultimately disappointed of that complete success which we are at present entitled to hope, the continuance of the contest, instead of making our situation comparatively worse, will have made it comparatively better.

If, then, I am asked how long are we to persevere in the

war, I can only say that no period can be accurately assigned. Considering the importance of obtaining complete security for the objects for which we contend, we ought not to be discouraged too soon ; but, on the contrary, considering the importance of not impairing and exhausting the radical strength of the country, there are limits beyond which we ought not to persist, and which we can determine only by estimating and comparing fairly, from time to time, the degree of security to be obtained by treaty, and the risk and disadvantage of continuing the contest.

But, sir, there are some gentlemen in the House who seem to consider it already certain that the ultimate success to which I am looking is unattainable. They suppose us contending only for the restoration of the French monarchy, which they believe to be impracticable, and deny to be desirable for this country. We have been asked in the course of this debate : Do you think you can impose monarchy upon France, against the will of the nation ? I never thought it, I never hoped it, I never wished it. I have thought, I have hoped, I have wished, that the time might come when the effect of the arms of the allies might so far overpower the military force which keeps France in bondage, as to give vent and scope to the thoughts and actions of its inhabitants. We have, indeed, already seen abundant proof of what is the disposition of a large part of the country ; we have seen almost through the whole of the Revolution the western provinces of France deluged with the blood of its inhabitants, obstinately contending for their ancient laws and religion. We have recently seen, in the revival of that war, fresh proof of the zeal which still animates those countries in the same cause. These efforts (I state it distinctly, and there are those near me who can bear witness to the truth of the assertion) were not produced by any instigation from hence ; they were the effects of a rooted sentiment prevailing through all those provinces forced into action by the "law of the hostages" and the other tyrannical measures of the Directory, at the moment when we were endeavoring to discourage so hazardous an enterprise. If, under such circumstances, we find them giving proofs of their unalterable perseverance in their principles ; if there is

every reason to believe that the same disposition prevails in many other extensive provinces of France; if every party appears at length equally wearied and disappointed with all the successive changes which the Revolution has produced; if the question is no longer between monarchy, and even the pretence and name of liberty, but between the ancient line of hereditary princes on the one hand, and a military tyrant, a foreign usurper, on the other; if the armies of that usurper are likely to find sufficient occupation on the frontiers, and to be forced at length to leave the interior of the country at liberty to manifest its real feeling and disposition; what reason have we to anticipate, that the restoration of monarchy under such circumstances is impracticable?

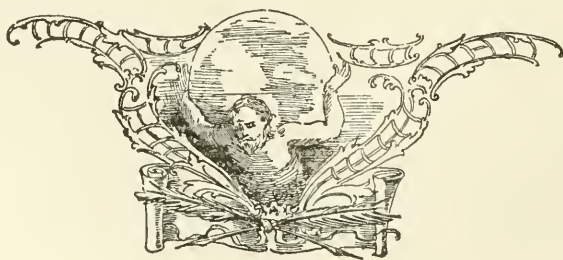
In the exhausted and impoverished state of France, it seems for a time impossible that any system but that of robbery and confiscation, anything but the continued torture, which can be applied only by the engines of the Revolution, can extort from its ruined inhabitants more than the means of supporting in peace the yearly expenditure of its government. Suppose, then, the heir of the house of Bourbon reinstated on the throne, he will have sufficient occupation in endeavoring, if possible, to heal the wounds, and gradually to repair the losses of ten years of civil convulsion; to reanimate the drooping commerce, to rekindle the industry, to replace the capital, and to revive the manufactures of the country. Under such circumstances, there must probably be a considerable interval before such a monarch, whatever may be his views, can possess the power which can make him formidable to Europe; but while the system of the Revolution continues, the case is quite different. It is true, indeed, that even the gigantic and unnatural means by which that revolution has been supported are so far impaired; the influence of its principles and the terror of its arms so far weakened; and its power of action so much contracted and circumscribed, that against the embodied force of Europe, prosecuting a vigorous war, we may justly hope that the remnant and wreck of this system cannot long oppose an effectual resistance.

But, supposing the confederacy of Europe prematurely dissolved; supposing our armies disbanded, our fleets laid up

in our harbors, our exertions relaxed, and our means of precaution and defence relinquished; do we believe that the revolutionary power, with this rest and breathing-time given it to recover from the pressure under which it is now sinking, possessing still the means of calling suddenly and violently into action whatever is the remaining physical force of France, under the guidance of military despotism; do we believe that this revolutionary power, the terror of which is now beginning to vanish, will not again prove formidable to Europe? Can we forget that in the ten years in which that power has subsisted, it has brought more misery on surrounding nations, and produced more acts of aggression, cruelty, perfidy, and enormous ambition than can be traced in the history of France for the centuries which have elapsed since the foundation of its monarchy, including all the wars which, in the course of that period, have been waged by any of those sovereigns, whose projects of aggrandizement and violations of treaty afford a constant theme of general reproach against the ancient government of France?

In compromise and treaty with such a power placed in such hands as now exercise it, and retaining the same means of annoyance which it now possesses, I see little hope of permanent security. I see no possibility at this moment of such a peace as would justify that liberal intercourse which is the essence of real amity; no chance of terminating the expenses or the anxieties of war, or of restoring to us any of the advantages of established tranquillity, and, as a sincere lover of peace, I cannot be content with its nominal attainment. As a sincere lover of peace, I will not sacrifice it by grasping at the shadow when the reality is not substantially within my reach.

—W. PITT.







## EDMUND BURKE.



EDMUND BURKE, the greatest of English orators, was also the greatest political philosopher of his age. The circumstances of his time and station prevented him from attaining the commanding position to which his abilities fairly entitled him. He was acknowledged to be the first man in the House of Commons

when there were many distinguished men there; he should have been the first man in England.

Edmund Burke was born in Dublin, most probably on the 12th of January, 1729 (there is some doubt even as to the year). His father, Richard Burke, was a Protestant attorney; his mother was a Catholic, of the ancient Irish family of Nagle. The three sons followed the father's faith, the daughter the mother's. The sons were sent to a school kept by Abraham Shackleton, an English Quaker, and Edmund there formed a lasting friendship with his teacher's son, Richard. Further education was received in Trinity College, Dublin, whence he graduated in 1748. Two years later he went to London to study law in the Middle Temple, but soon showed distaste for his profession, and devoted himself to the



more congenial task of writing for the press. When his father, being somewhat offended, withdrew his allowance, this only stimulated him to greater exertion, in the same line.

After some experience in contributing to newspapers, he issued "A Vindication of Natural Society" (1756), which purported to be written "by a late noble writer," and was generally ascribed to Lord Bolingbroke, whose style it admirably imitated. It certainly did not present Burke's own views, and it carried those of Bolingbroke further than he would have dared to do, though not beyond their logical conclusion. Hence some have supposed it intended as a satire, but it was taken seriously by the most eminent critics of the day. Burke's acknowledged production, the "Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful," issued in the same year, procured for him the regard of Dr. Johnson, Reynolds, and others, eminent in the literary world.

In 1757 Burke visited Bath, and resided in the house of his kinsman, Dr. Christopher Nugent, whose daughter Mary he married. After his return to London, appeared "An Account of the European Settlements in America" (1757), for which he received fifty guineas from Dodsley. When that publisher projected the "Annual Register," Burke was its chief director and editor, with a salary of £100. The first volume was issued in 1759, and he retained his connection until 1788; its publication still continues. William G. Hamilton, commonly known as "Single-speech Hamilton," being made secretary to Lord Fairfax, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, appointed Burke his private secretary. The opportunity he thus had of examining the government of Ireland, in that period of dire oppression and tyranny, strongly impressed his mind, and led him afterwards to make self-sacrificing efforts in behalf of his countrymen. Hamilton retired from his position in 1763, and Burke returned with him to London, but obtained a pension of £300, which, however, was afterwards withdrawn.

When the Marquis of Rockingham became prime minister, in 1765, he made Burke his private secretary. The latter was now returned to Parliament for the pocket borough of

Wendover, and in his first speech attracted the attention of Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham). He defended the liberal policy of the Rockingham ministry, which, among other measures, repealed the Stamp Act, so offensive to the American colonies. But the king was opposed to the moderate Whigs, and soon drove them from power. In other cabinets, which were then attempted to be formed, Burke was offered a place, but declined. Henceforth he belonged to the Opposition, and by the solidity of the principles which he advocated gave to its course a permanent grandeur.

About this time Burke purchased for £20,000 an estate of six hundred acres, near Beaconsfield, in Buckinghamshire. Several friends had helped in raising the necessary sum, especially the Marquis of Rockingham, who afterward made a gift of that which he had first offered as a loan. Burke, however, appears to have had a considerable income, though from his desire of living in a refined and generous style he readily went beyond his means. He kept clear of the corruption which prevailed in English political life in that century. He continued his intimacy with the literary coterie to which he belonged before entering the political field. Yet they could not help regretting that he had "given to party what was meant for mankind." His familiar acquaintance, however, with the two worlds of politics and literature, not only raised the tone of his work in the former, but has also given permanent value to his occasional treatises, such as his "Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents" (1770), though by its moderation it satisfied neither of the great parties of the time.

When the publication of the celebrated "Junius" Letters agitated the political world, Burke was widely believed to be the author, but as the charge was never formally made, he disdained to deny the allegation.

Burke was in 1771 appointed agent for New York, to present and defend the interests of that colony before the government in England. He was also offered a position of supervisor of the affairs of the East India Company, but declined. A brief visit to France, in 1773, is memorable, not merely for his sight of Marie Antoinette, but for the

apprehension and alarm which the opinions of the leaders of thought in Paris excited in his mind. These were exhibited in a speech in Parliament soon after his return, and bore further fruit at a later period when his prognostications were fully realized. In 1774 Burke enjoyed the high distinction of being chosen to represent in Parliament Bristol, then the second city in the kingdom. The great struggle for the liberties of the American colonists had already commenced. Burke had shown an intimate acquaintance with their condition and wishes, and during the memorable debates which preceded and accompanied their war for independence Burke was foremost in advocating measures of conciliation. His speech, delivered in March, 1775, remains a testimony of his practical wisdom, as well as an admirable example of his style. Without taking the extreme ground that Parliament had no right to tax the colonies, which were not there represented, he declared that the attempt to do so was in the highest degree unwise and inexpedient. Burke's zealous defence of the rights of the colonists rendered him unpopular with his constituents, and in 1777 he explained his principles and their application in a masterly though not successful "Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol."

Other questions involving liberal principles occupied much of his time and attention, among them the removal of Catholic disabilities and the condition of Ireland. In 1780 he introduced bills regulating the expenditures of the royal household, army, navy and other departments, and supported them in an eloquent speech on "Economical Reform." When at last the foolish and obstinate persistence of king and people had reached its inevitable end in complete defeat in America, the Rockingham party came into power in March, 1782. Burke was then made a privy councillor and paymaster-general of the forces. He immediately introduced reform in his own department, which materially cut down his own emoluments, the total annual saving being £47,000. Soon he began his searching investigation of East Indian affairs, which resulted in the India Bill, intended to remodel the government of that country, transferring it from the East India Company to commissioners appointed by the House of Commons. The

king, however, resented this interference with his patronage, and procured its rejection by the House of Lords. This was at once followed by the dismissal of the ministry.

Burke's hopes of reform, based upon continuance of his party in power, were thus overthrown. Nevertheless he proceeded with the most laborious enterprise of his life, the impeachment of Warren Hastings for maladministration in India (see Vol. VIII., p. 333). In the preliminary efforts to persuade the House of Commons to adopt this course, Burke had, in February, 1785, delivered one of his most famous speeches, that on the Nabob of Arcot's debts. The opening speech in the trial was delivered by Burke on the 15th of February, 1788. His herculean labors extended over fourteen years; the trial itself, owing to the cumbrousness of the procedure and the incompetence of the House of Lords as a court, occupied eight. The individual defendant was finally acquitted. Yet the result was the laying of a secure foundation for the government of India on principles befitting the Christian civilization of England. This was Burke's triumph, and his most magnificent service to his country and to mankind.

While this momentous trial was dragging its slow length along, still more momentous events were occurring with marvelous rapidity on the continent of Europe. The French Revolution, which, at its outbreak in 1789, was hailed with delight by his associates in the Whig Party, was regarded by Burke with distrust and doubt. His intercourse with the wits and philosophers of Paris, in 1773, had shown him that their maxims led logically to anarchy. When he saw that societies were being formed in England also for the propagation of these wild ideas, Burke appeared as the champion of conservatism, and published in November, 1790, "*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*" This masterly treatise was enthusiastically welcomed by all friends of law and order. It obtained expressions of approval from King George, and also from other sovereigns. It called forth replies from Sir James Mackintosh and Thomas Paine. It arrested the progress of the revolutionary spirit in England, and even on the Continent. Burke's course soon led to an open rupture with Charles J. Fox, who had been his associate in the impeachment

of Hastings, and was now the Whig leader in the House of Commons. Their formal separation on the 6th of May, 1791, was a most affecting scene. Fox had charged him with having abandoned the principles of his party, and appealed in proof thereof to his speeches in behalf of America. Burke, however, maintained the consistency of his course in his "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs." It was a vindication of the English Revolution of 1688, on the very principles which condemned the French Revolution. He saw that the tyranny of the mob would be as oppressive, as unjust, and as sanguinary as that of the despot, and that the only practical liberty is that under the sway of equal and exact laws. The course of events in France soon proved the correctness of his forecast. Burke was now regarded in England as a political prophet. In 1794 Fox's most important political friends went over to the side of the government, and that leader was left with but a handful of supporters.

In June, 1794, Burke retired from Parliament. In the following August he lost his only surviving son, on whose mediocre abilities he had built extravagant hopes. After the close of the trial of Hastings, Burke was granted a pension of £2,500 by the government, and when some noblemen objected to this remuneration he wrote, in 1796, a "Letter to a Noble Lord," as a vindication of his career and public services. His last publication, "Letters on a Regicide Peace," was a vehement protest against the unwise project of making peace with the unstable government of France, waiting only for renewed strength to wage relentless war. Before the third of these letters was issued, Burke died on the 8th of July, 1797. Fox, in an affecting speech, proposed that he should be buried in Westminster Abbey, but Burke had directed that his burial should be private, and he was interred at Beaconsfield.

Burke belongs to the foremost rank of great orators. In grandeur of style, cogency of reasoning, and richness of imagination he has been excelled by none. His manner was adapted to the importance of the themes which he treated—the freedom of nations, the justice of rulers, the destiny of empires. He seldom indulged in mere sentiment, but preferred the profound maxims of sober wisdom. In denunciation of wrong and injus-



tice, he manifested passion, vehemence and fervor. His arguments were framed not only on full understanding of the particular case, but also on comprehension of the grand wide-reaching principles of human nature which it illustrated. Hence his orations, more than those of his illustrious contemporaries, Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, are still objects of familiar study and models for succeeding generations. His philosophical discussions of the principles of statesmanship are enhanced in their confirmation by the progress of events. "Burke," says Coleridge, "possessed and had sedulously sharpened that eye which sees all things, actions and events in relation to the laws that determine their existence and circumscribe their possibility. He referred habitually to principles. He was a scientific statesman, and therefore a seer."

#### AMERICAN LOVE OF FREEDOM.

(From the Speech "On Conciliation with America," March 22, 1775.)

In this character of the Americans, a love of freedom is the predominating feature which marks and distinguishes the whole; and as an ardent is always a jealous affection, your colonies become suspicious, restive, and untractable, whenever they see the least attempt to wrest from them by force or shuffle from them by chicane, what they think the only advantage worth living for. This fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the English colonies probably than in any other people of the earth; and this from a great variety of powerful causes; which, to understand the true temper of their minds, and the direction which this spirit takes, it will not be amiss to lay open somewhat more largely.

First, the people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen. England, Sir, is a nation which still I hope respects, and formerly adored, her freedom. The colonists emigrated from you when this part of your character was most predominant; and they took this bias and direction the moment they parted from your hands. They are therefore not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas, and on English principles. Abstract liberty, like other mere abstractions, is not to be found. Liberty inheres in some sensible object; and every nation has formed to itself

some favorite point, which by way of eminence becomes the criterion of their happiness. It happened, you know, Sir, that the great contests for freedom in this country were from the earliest times chiefly upon the question of taxing. Most of the contests in the ancient commonwealths turned primarily on the right of election of magistrates, or on the balance among the several orders of the state. The question of money was not with them so immediate. But in England it was otherwise. On this point of taxes the ablest pens and most eloquent tongues have been exercised, the greatest spirits have acted and suffered. In order to give the fullest satisfaction concerning the importance of this point, it was not only necessary for those who in argument defended the excellence of the English Constitution to insist on this privilege of granting money as a dry point of fact, and to prove that the right had been acknowledged in ancient parchments and blind usage to reside in a certain body called a House of Commons. They went much farther; they attempted to prove, and they succeeded, that in theory it ought to be so, from the particular nature of a House of Commons as an immediate representative of the people, whether the old records had delivered this oracle or not. They took infinite pains to inculcate, as a fundamental principle, that in all monarchies the people must in effect themselves, mediately or immediately, possess the power of granting their own money, or no shadow of liberty could subsist. The colonies draw from you, as with their life blood, these ideas and principles. Their love of liberty, as with you, fixed and attached on this specific point of taxing. Liberty might be safe, or might be endangered, in twenty other particulars, without their being much pleased or alarmed. Here they felt its pulse; and as they found that beat, they thought themselves sick or sound. Your mode of governing them, whether through lenity or indolence, through wisdom or mistake, confirmed them in the imagination, that they, as well as you, had an interest in these common principles.

They were further confirmed in this pleasing error by the form of their provincial legislative assemblies. Their governments are popular in a high degree; some are merely popular;

in all, the popular representative is the most weighty; and this share of the people in their ordinary government never fails to inspire them with lofty sentiments, and with a strong aversion from whatever tends to deprive them of their chief importance.

If anything were wanting to this necessary operation of the form of government, religion would have given it a complete effect. Religion, always a principle of energy, in this new people is no way worn out or impaired; and their mode of professing it is also one main cause of this free spirit. The people are Protestants; and of that kind which is the most adverse to all implicit submission of mind and opinion. This is a persuasion not only favorable to liberty, but built upon it. I do not think, Sir, that the reason of this averseness in the dissenting churches, from all that looks like absolute government, is so much to be sought in their religious tenets as in their history. Every one knows that the Roman Catholic religion is at least coeval with most of the governments where it prevails; that it has generally gone hand in hand with them, and received great favor and every kind of support from authority. The Church of England, too, was formed from her cradle under the nursing care of regular government. But the dissenting interests have sprung up in direct opposition to all the ordinary powers of the world, and could justify that opposition only on a strong claim to natural liberty. Their very existence depended on the powerful and unremitted assertion of that claim. All Protestantism, even the most cold and passive, is a sort of dissent. But the religion most prevalent in our northern colonies is a refinement on the principle of resistance; it is the dissidence of dissent, and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion. This religion, under a variety of denominations agreeing in nothing but in the communion of the spirit of liberty, is predominant in most of the northern provinces, where the Church of England, notwithstanding its legal rights, is in reality no more than a sort of private sect, not composing most probably the tenth of the people. The colonists left England when this spirit was high, and in the emigrants was the highest of all, and even that stream of foreigners, which has been constantly flowing into

these colonies, has, for the greatest part, been composed of dissenters from the establishments of their several countries, and have brought with them a temper and character far from alien to that of the people with whom they mixed.

Sir, I can perceive by their manner, that some gentlemen object to the latitude of this description, because in the southern colonies the Church of England forms a large body, and has a regular establishment. It is certainly true. There is, however, a circumstance attending these colonies, which, in my opinion, fully counterbalances this difference, and makes the spirit of liberty still more high and haughty than in those to the northward. It is, that in Virginia and the Carolinas they have a vast multitude of slaves. Where this is the case in any part of the world, those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing there, that freedom, as in countries where it is a common blessing, and as broad and general as the air, may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude, liberty looks, amongst them, like something that is more noble and liberal. These people of the southern colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty, than those to the northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such were our Gothic ancestors; such in our days were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves who are not slaves themselves. In such a people, the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible.

Permit me, Sir, to add another circumstance in our colonies, which contributes no mean part towards the growth and effect of this untractable spirit. I mean their education. In no country perhaps in the world is the law so general a study. The profession itself is numerous and powerful; and in most provinces it takes the lead. The greater number of the deputies sent to the Congress were lawyers. But all who read (and most do read), endeavor to obtain some smattering in that science. I have been told by an eminent bookseller, that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion,

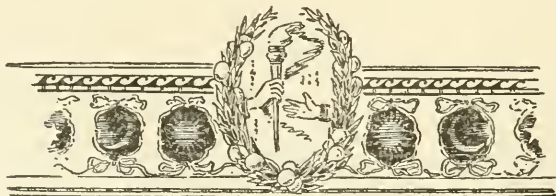
were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations. The colonists have now fallen into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear that they have sold nearly as many of Blackstone's Commentaries in America as in England. General Gage marks out this disposition very particularly in a letter on your table. He states that all the people in his government are lawyers, or smatterers in law; and that in Boston they have been enabled, by successful chicane, wholly to evade many parts of one of our capital penal constitutions. The smartness of debate will say that this knowledge ought to teach them more clearly the rights of legislature, their obligations to obedience, and the penalties of rebellion. All this is mighty well. But my honorable and learned friend on the floor, who condescends to mark what I say for animadversion, will disdain that ground. He has heard, as well as I, that when great honors and great emoluments do not win over this knowledge to the service of the state, it is a formidable adversary to government. If the spirit be not tamed and broken by these happy methods, it is stubborn and litigious. *Abeunt studia in mores*. This study renders men acute, inquisitive, dexterous, prompt in attack, ready in defence, full of resources. In other countries, the people, more simple, and of a less mercurial cast, judge of an ill principle in government only by an actual grievance; here they anticipate the evil, and judge of the pressure of the grievance by the badness of the principle. They augur misgovernment at a distance, and snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze.

The last cause of this disobedient spirit in the colonies is hardly less powerful than the rest, as it is not merely moral, but laid deep in the natural constitution of things. Three thousand miles of ocean lie between you and them. No contrivance can prevent the effect of this distance in weakening government. Seas roll, and months pass, between the order and the execution; and the want of a speedy explanation of a single point is enough to defeat a whole system. You have, indeed, "winged ministers of vengeance," who carry your bolts in their pounces to the remotest verge of the sea. But there a power steps in, that limits the arrogance of raging



passions and furious elements, and says, "So far shalt thou go, and no farther." Who are you, that you should fret and rage, and bite the chains of Nature?—nothing worse happens to you than does to all nations who have extensive empire; and it happens in all the forms into which empire can be thrown. In large bodies, the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities. Nature has said it. The Turk cannot govern Egypt, and Arabia, and Kurdistan as he governs Thrace; nor has he the same dominion in Crimea and Algiers which he has at Brusa and Smyrna. Despotism itself is obliged to truck and huckster. The Sultan gets such obedience as he can. He governs with a loose rein, that he may govern at all; and the whole of the force and vigor of his authority in his centre is derived from a prudent relaxation in all his borders. Spain, in her provinces, is perhaps not so well obeyed as you are in yours. She complies too; she submits; she watches times. This is the immutable condition, the eternal law, of extensive and detached empire.

Then, Sir, from these six capital sources: of descent; of form of government; of religion in the northern provinces; of manners in the southern; of education; of the remoteness of situation from the first mover of government; from all these causes a fierce spirit of liberty has grown up. It has grown with the growth of the people in your colonies, and increased with the increase of their wealth; a spirit, that unhappily meeting with an exercise of power in England, which, however lawful, is not reconcilable to any ideas of liberty, much less with theirs, has kindled this flame that is ready to consume us.—E. BURKE.

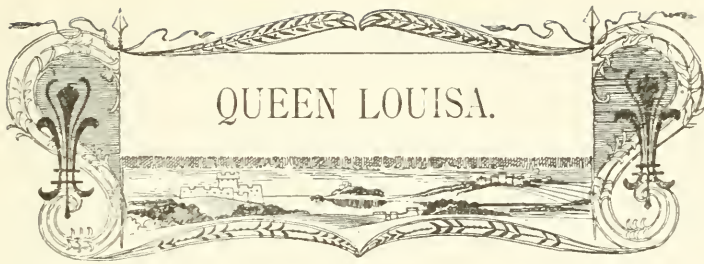






G. RICHTER. PINX.

QUEEN LOUISA OF PRUSSIA.



QUEEN LOUISA of Prussia, by nobility of character and patient endurance of misfortune, has won an honorable name in history. The desperate efforts of Napoleon to befoul her reputation, when he found that her resistance was an obstacle to his success in obtaining dominion in Germany, have

only made her memory more precious to her countrymen.

She was born on the 10th of March, 1776, being the daughter of Duke Charles of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, who was then commandant in Hanover. After the death of her mother she was trained by her grandmother, the landgravine of Hesse-Darmstadt. In 1793 she met at Frankfort the crown prince of Prussia, who was completely captivated by her beauty and charin of manner. They were married on Christmas Eve. The husband in 1797 succeeded to the throne of Prussia, as Frederic William III. He possessed many virtues, but not the strength of character required by the exigency of the times. His counsellors, likewise, were incapable of

understanding what was needed, and acting accordingly. Prussia, therefore, which had recently dominated affairs in Europe, fell back into an obscure position. Even the seizure of Hanover, in 1803, could not rouse the king to action; and in 1805 he was quite content to accept that kingdom as a bribe from France, when his patriotic queen was urging that he should join the coalition against Napoleon. The selfishness of Frederic was an important element in the French emperor's calculations, and served his purpose well. At last the poor dupe found that Napoleon, having secured all he could from his good-will, was ready to sacrifice him to obtain other objects. Prussia declared war on the 9th of October, 1806, but a week's campaign showed that her army had lost the valor and force of the days of Frederic the Great. After the battle of Jena, Queen Louisa, with her husband, abandoned Berlin and went to Königsberg. The battles of Friedland and Eylau placed Prussia absolutely at the mercy of Napoleon. The queen made a personal appeal to the victor at Tilsit, but without success. Frederic William lost half of his kingdom, including all west of the Elbe. The country continued to be occupied by French troops until the severe war indemnity should be paid.

Yet this period of humiliation and suffering was the turning point in the nation's history. The disasters of the past evoked a new spirit of self-sacrificing devotion. A secret organization, called the "League of Virtue," was formed, and the noblest thinkers and actors devoted themselves to the arduous task of reviving the spirit and patriotism of the people. The great minister, Stein, accepted office and began a thorough reform of the administrative system. But soon Napoleon suspected Stein of having organized the "League of Virtue," and peremptorily ordered his dismissal, which the king was obliged to enforce in 1806. But the good work was continued by Chancellor Hardenberg. Scharnhorst and Mersenall restored the army discipline. William von Humboldt reformed the educational system, and in 1809 founded the University of Berlin. These movements were all introduced and approved by the queen and her friends, rather than by the king. She returned to Berlin on Christmas Eve, 1809,



but she did not live to see the fruits of the new movement. While on a visit to her father at Strelitz she died in her husband's arms, on the 19th of July, 1810. She was buried in the garden of the palace at Charlottenburg, and thirty years later her husband was laid by her side.

The people of Prussia have since abundantly testified their honor for her memory. The king instituted the Order of Louisa, and the Louisa Foundation for the education of girls was established in her honor. A recumbent statue, by Rauch, was placed in the mausoleum at her tomb, and an erect statue at Berlin.

#### QUEEN LOUISA AND NAPOLEON.

When Napoleon heard that the queen was expected to join the king at Piktupöhnen, he determined on showing her every ceremonious attention due to her rank. No sooner had she arrived than he sent two of his generals to wait on Her Majesty, to express his regret that he could not visit her at Piktupöhnen, that place not being on neutral territory, and to beg that she would come to Tilsit. The queen did not decline this proposal, and the emperor sent his own state carriage drawn by eight horses to convey Her Majesty, and a splendid escort of French dragoons. It was on the morning of the 6th of July that the queen went to Tilsit; the Countesses Von Voss and Taudentzien were in attendance. An hour after her arrival at the King of Prussia's apartments, Napoleon called on her; first sending a messenger to announce his approach. We know what were the feelings with which she awaited the meeting, for in anticipation of the dreaded moment she had written in her journal: "What this costs me my God alone knows, for, if I do not positively hate this man, I cannot help looking upon him as the man who has made the king and the whole nation miserable. It will be very difficult for me to be courteous to him, but that is required of me."

The king met the emperor before he entered the house, and greeted him with due ceremony; His Majesty remained down-stairs to receive the marshals and the suite. The emperor, attended by Talleyrand, went up directly to the queen's apartment, as his visit was to her. They met at the head of

the stairs, according to etiquette when a person of superior rank was to be received. The queen seems to have been a little embarrassed, for her first words were merely a remark on the stairs—she regretted that His Majesty had had to mount so inconvenient a stair-case. Napoleon gallantly replied: "One cannot be afraid of difficulties with such an object in view, and while reaching up to attain the reward at the end." "For those who are favored by Heaven there are no difficulties on earth," replied the queen.

Napoleon had penetration enough to see at once that the descriptions of Queen Louisa, which had been given to him by his agents and her enemies, were untruthful, and very falsely colored. "I knew," he said to Talleyrand, "that I should see a beautiful woman, and a queen with dignified manners; but I found the most admirable queen, and at the same time the most interesting woman I had ever met with." Her Majesty wore a perfectly white dress of crape, richly embroidered in silk, which attracted Napoleon's eye. "Is it crape, Indian gauze?" said he, gently touching the elegant material. "Shall we speak of such light things at such a moment as this?" said Louisa. He made no reply, and the queen, not wishing to take the initiative in an important conversation, broke the silence by making a simple remark on the climate of North Germany, hoping it had agreed with His Majesty's health. "The French soldier is hardened to bear every kind of climate," said Napoleon; and with characteristic abruptness he added, "How could you think of making war upon me?" The queen very quietly answered, "We were mistaken in our calculations on our resources." "And you trusted in Frederic's fame and deceived yourselves—Prussia, of course, I mean." The queen calmly raised her clear blue eyes to meet Napoleon's searching glance as she replied, "Sire, on the strength of the great Frederic's fame we may be excused for having been mistaken with respect to our own powers, and the means at our command; if indeed we were entirely mistaken."

Napoleon was touched by this answer; he felt the truth, and dropped the subject. He was passing on to trivial conversation; but the queen, mindful of the task she had under-

taken, and thinking this might be her only opportunity of speaking, mentioned the object of her journey to Tilsit. She candidly told the emperor that she hoped to prevail on him to grant moderate terms for a treaty of peace with Prussia. Thus pressed, Napoleon gave evasive answers. She spoke of his generosity, hoping to call it into existence, and he parried her arguments with empty compliments, which gave her at the moment a little hope that she was making some impression, and thus urged her on to plead more fervently. Napoleon admired this earnest devotion to the cause she had at heart, the utter forgetfulness of self, the heedlessness of any consequences that might rebound on herself. The strength of character and the quick-witted intelligence of the queen were soon felt in this conversation to a degree which embarrassed Napoleon; but he was on his guard, and although some expressions of kindness and respect passed his lips, he took care not to utter a single word which could bind him to anything.

Louisa spoke of the power of moderation; she besought him to be just and merciful, for the love of humanity; she called his attention to the eternal laws by which God governs the world. When she spoke of the Prussian people and of her husband she could not restrain her tears. At last she begged for Magdeburg, that Magdeburg at least might be spared to them. Talleyrand thought Napoleon wavered. At that moment the king came in, and the conversation was interrupted. After talking for a few minutes on general topics, Napoleon invited the king and queen to dine with him, and then took leave, followed by Talleyrand. It is said that that minister, anxious to efface any impressions which Queen Louisa's petition might have made on the emperor's mind, asked him what he thought the world would say if he were to sacrifice the fruits of his victories to a beautiful woman. They talked of Magdeburg and its value to France, and agreed that that town could not be given up. "No, no," said Napoleon jestingly, "Magdeburg is worth a hundred queens." He has given his own account of his interview with the Queen of Prussia, and thus describes its termination. "Happily the husband came in; the queen's countenance showed her annoy-

ance at this *contre-temps*, and, in fact, the king, trying to put his word into the conversation, spoiled the whole affair, and I was delivered."

This interview, on which so much had seemed to depend, had lasted only a quarter of an hour. As Louisa recalled to mind what had passed, hope revived, and she dwelt on every word that could at all sustain it. The emperor had said, "You ask a great deal, but I will think about it." She repeated these words in a joyful tone; they might mean a great deal: besides, she should see him again at dinner; something might then be done.

Lovingly and carefully the queen's ladies dressed her that day, wishing that all the world knew her as they did. Many months had elapsed since Louisa had appeared in the full splendor of regal attire. When the *toilette* was completed, as the queen saw herself reflected in the glass, her vivid imagination conjured up the old Germans of pagan times, who dressed up their victims before they threw them into the flames, to appease the anger of their gods. With a sad smile she expressed the fancy to Frau Von Berg—"Will indeed the angry god whom now the world adores, be appeased and reconciled through me?" she said.

The emperor received the queen with the utmost politeness—he went out and opened the carriage-door himself—he led Her Majesty to the table, and placed her on his right hand; the King of Prussia sat on his left; they were the distinguished guests that day. The emperor talked freely at the table; his loquacious, lively manner contrasted remarkably with the king's grave reserve. Napoleon had been accustomed to find the German princes very submissive in their demeanor towards him; but Frederic William maintained his dignity. The queen was excited, but never lost her presence of mind; she had only one object in view, the hope that the treaty of peace might not be altogether disadvantageous to Prussia.

The emperor, in a gracious mood, condescended to jest even on grave subjects. He asked the queen how she could have been so imprudent as to go up to the seat of war—was she aware that she had very narrowly escaped being taken by his hussars? Louisa replied, "I can hardly believe that, Sire,

for I never saw a Frenchman while I was on that journey." "But why did you expose yourself thus to danger? Why did you not wait for my arrival at Weimar?" "Really, Sire, I felt no inclination to do so," was the answer.

Conversing more seriously, the emperor spoke of the province of Silesia, telling the queen that he was willing to surrender it to Prussia on the new arrangements about to be made. Something was also said about the old Prussian provinces which were to be ceded to France. The Hohenzollern would not for a moment pretend to be contented—well satisfied—with a spoliation which he felt to be unjust. He quietly expressed his difference of opinion, adding: "Your Majesty does not know how grievous it is to lose territories which have descended through a long line of ancestors, which are, in fact, the cradle of one's race." Whether this speech was intended to be *piquant*, or whether it was an accidental slip of the tongue, we cannot say; certainly it was not likely to conciliate a monarch who had ennobled his family, instead of being ennobled by it in the time-honored way. Napoleon laughed, and seemed highly amused by the simile. "The cradle!" said he; "when the child has grown up to be a man, he has not much time to think about his cradle." "The mother's heart is the most lasting cradle," observed Queen Louisa. The turn thus gently given to the conversation may not have been unpleasing, for the emperor's consideration for his mother was generally admired.

Respectful inquiries were now made for Madame Bonaparte and the Empress Josephine, and all went on smoothly, as the grand dinner proceeded through its successive courses. The emperor was in a cheerful, talkative humor, and whenever that was the case he very much engrossed the conversation. He had become accustomed when in society to act a part; he had acquired a command of words which made his language striking and powerful; but they were in a manner armed words, which set the interlocutor at defiance, and overcame without convincing him. The result of this was that a conversation with Napoleon was often nothing more than a long monologue. He could not bear to be contradicted, and was therefore incapable of carrying on an argument on any subject;



consequently he seldom gained a real victory with his tongue; he could only astonish and silence those who ventured to contend with him.

The Queen of Prussia was not silenced. Napoleon acknowledged that in spite of his address and utmost efforts, "she constantly led the conversation, returned at pleasure to her subject, and directed it as she chose; but still with so much tact and delicacy that it was impossible to take offence." "And in truth," said he, "it must be confessed that the objects at stake were of infinite importance, and the time short and precious."

The flush of excitement on Louisa's fine countenance made people forget that she had passed the fresh bloom of life's prime; at the same time, her vivacity and intelligence made them feel that external beauty was her least attraction. Did Napoleon at that moment remember some passages in those private letters which he took the liberty of reading when he ransacked her cabinet at Charlottenburg? Now that he had become personally acquainted with the Queen of Prussia, and could not help admiring her, in spite of preconceived prejudices, the victor, who was accustomed to overcome all kinds of opposition, may have attempted to conquer the aversion of which he knew he was the object. We may be sure that nothing traced by Queen Louisa's hand was either grossly or very bitterly expressed, therefore it could be forgiven; and Napoleon had found in her a woman and a queen totally unlike the ideal he had formed in his mind.

Wishing to please his fair guest by every trivial attention he could lavish upon her, the emperor offered the queen a rose. Louisa hesitated for an instant; then, true to her aim, she smiled, and softly said,—“At least with Magdeburg.” “I must point out to your Majesty,” replied Napoleon, “that it is for me to beg; for you to accept or decline.” “There is no rose without a thorn, but these thorns are too sharp for me,” said the queen, as she declined to take the flower.

When the sumptuous banquet was over, the large assembly of persons, liberally entertained by the Emperor of France, enjoyed music, or amused themselves with dancing and other diversions. Every eye sought the Queen of Prussia; many

looked on her, disposed to envy her high position and her evident advantages. No one knew how her heart was growing heavier with its weight of disappointment, as the gay hours passed on, and one by one every chance and every hope of accomplishing her object failed her, and she saw that no further opportunity for pleading Prussia's cause was likely to be accorded to her.

According to a previous invitation the king and queen went into town to dine again with His Imperial Majesty. The queen, disheartened and fatigued, desired to be excused from appearing, but yielded to the wishes of others. The Emperor Alexander strongly advised her not to decline Napoleon's invitation to this more private and select party. The conditions of the treaty of peace were by this time definitely settled; the King and Queen of Prussia knew their own and their country's fate; further discussion therefore was useless. Napoleon, no longer feeling that he must stand on the defensive, prepared to resist entreaties, was less arbitrary in his manner at this farewell meeting than it was usual for him to be. Monsieur Thiers thinks that, embarrassed by the struggle with the Queen of Prussia, and to escape from her importunities, as he found it difficult to maintain the upper hand, he made some slight concessions, hastened the conclusion of the treaty, and also his preparations for returning to France. In his resolute way he had determined that everything should be finished and ready for him to leave in twenty-four hours.

As the emperor conducted the queen to his carriage, which was waiting for her, he gallantly expressed his unalterable admiration according to the French courtly manners of the day, adding that he very much regretted the being unable to accede to her wishes. Following his tactics, the queen lamented that after having had the honor of knowing the hero of the age, whom she could never forget, the impression left on her mind must always be painful; whereas, could admiration of his generosity be added to her other recollections, she would have been bound to him by a lasting tie of gratitude. "Indeed, Your Majesty," replied the emperor, "I lament that so it must be; it is my evil destiny,"—and they parted, never again to meet in this world. "I have been

cruelly deceived," were Louisa's last words as she drove from the house.

Monsieur Thiers regrets that Napoleon was so intent on aggrandizing ungrateful kingdoms, and on creating ephemeral ones, that he overlooked the importance of thoroughly conciliating Prussia. "Perhaps," he says, "had Napoleon allowed himself to yield on this occasion, had he conceded, not only what was asked for, but all that he might have granted without detriment to his other projects, perhaps he might have bound to himself the warm heart of this princess, and the good heart of her honorable husband." Had Prussia been united to France in a firm and durable alliance, the star of Napoleon's destiny might not have set as it did.—E. H. HUDSON.



# TALLEYRAND.



TALLEYRAND is the most famous of modern diplomatists, not for his success in behalf of his country, but for his ability in securing recognition of the necessity of his services from its various governments, antagonistic to each other. Notorious for his falsehoods and supremely selfish, he yet rendered to France, at critical junctures, important service which no other could have done.

Charles Maurice Talleyrand de Périgord was born at Paris on the 2d of February, 1754. His family was of local celebrity, and his father served in the Seven Years' War. Charles was the eldest son, but being lamed by accident in boyhood, was excluded by his father from succession to his title and destined to the Church, though his desire was to enter the army. The victim, however, devoted himself to study in the three seminaries he attended, and took orders at the usual age. Yet the young Abbé de Périgord became noted rather as a rake and a wit than as a theologian. Nevertheless, at the age of twenty-six he was nominated agent-general of the clergy. In this position he displayed much aptitude, and finally, in 1789, Louis XVI., in fulfilment of a promise to Talleyrand's father, when dying, appointed him Bishop of Autun.

Talleyrand had been a watchful observer of the current of political events, and resolved to profit by it. The clergy of

his diocese elected him as their representative in the States-General. His speech on this occasion proved his ability as a political leader. Mirabeau soon recognized this ecclesiastic, who was a disgrace to his profession, as one of the most subtle and powerful intellects of the age. The dexterity with which he handled the most momentous subjects increased his popularity. He became an authority on constitutional, financial, and educational questions, and was selected as one of the committee to draw up the Declaration of Rights. He voted that the clergy should be united with the commons when they were joined into a National Assembly. He also proposed the abolition of tithes and strongly insisted that the vote should be unanimous. But his perverse hostility to the profession to which he nominally belonged was most conspicuously shown when he introduced the project for confiscating the landed property of the Church. In vain did the clergy, especially those of his own diocese, petition and remonstrate. He saw that such a measure must be passed, and he resolved to have the credit of proposing it. This act made him so popular with the revolutionists that on the 13th of February, 1790, he was elected President of the Assembly for a fortnight.

Numerous reforms were introduced by him. The versatility of his talents was shown in his reports on the finances and the details of government. Like Mirabeau, he has been accused of appropriating the literary labors of others. On the 14th of July he officiated at the festival of the new constitution (see Vol. VI., p. 103). Some months later he Consecrated two new bishops, and professed his attachment to the Roman Church, probably in the hope of averting the Pope's excommunication, which came in April, 1791. Talleyrand then resigned his bishopric of Autun, and thenceforth devoted himself entirely to secular affairs. By the death of Mirabeau he was left without a rival. He was now appointed director of the Department of Paris. His remarkable report on public instruction has been the model on which were based the later changes in the educational system of France.

Talleyrand, however, had never been heartily in favor of the Republic, and he was glad to be sent on a secret mission to England. The object was to induce the English ministry



to resume peaceful relations with France. In this he was unsuccessful, and in the meantime he was denounced as a royalist by the Jacobins, even while the royalists regarded him as a Jacobin. Yet after the death of Louis XVI. he still acted as agent for the Republic and endeavored to stir up the disaffected English Liberals, but without success, as he reported, for want of money. In December he was proscribed by the French government, but remained in London until January, 1794, when the English government, at the instance of some *émigrés*, ordered him to leave. He found a refuge in the United States, and brought a letter of introduction to Washington from Lord Lansdowne. He settled in New York city, and engaged in trade; but after the death of Robespierre, Madame de Staël obtained for him permission to return. He landed at Hamburg, and there fell in with a Mrs. Grant, who had been the mistress of an English official in India. She was notoriously stupid, yet Talleyrand afterwards married her.

On his arrival in Paris he joined the party of Barras, and in 1797 the Directory, following public opinion, made him Secretary of Foreign Affairs. He was now the most powerful person in France, but he recognized the superior genius of Napoleon. When the latter returned from Egypt, their common interest drew them together, and in the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire, the audacity of Bonaparte executed the crafty designs of Talleyrand. The latter now exerted himself to obtain peace with other nations, and was successful in forming first the Treaty of Lunéville with Austria, and then the Treaty of Amiens with England. He then, on his own behalf, compelled the Pope to secularize him by brief. Talleyrand had no sincere friendship for Napoleon, but used him as a means towards his own aggrandizement. He, however, greatly strengthened his master's power both as First Consul and as Emperor. He has been unjustly accused of inducing Napoleon to commit the crime of kidnapping and executing the Duc d'Enghien, in March, 1804. Josephine hated and denounced him.

Talleyrand assisted in organizing the Confederation of the Rhine in 1806, and in negotiating the peace of Tilsit with the

Czar Alexander in 1807. He refused, however, to take part in Napoleon's usurpation in Spain, and was therefore dismissed from office, but was made Prince of Beneventum and vice-grand-electoral of the new empire. Though no longer possessing the emperor's confidence, he was occasionally summoned to attend the councils, and was intrusted with difficult negotiations. He disapproved of the invasion of Russia, and though after that disastrous campaign he was invited to again take the ministry of foreign affairs, he refused, because required to give up his vice-grand-electoralship.

He now became the leader of those in France who were opposed to Napoleon, and the communications with the Allies and with the Bourbons passed through him. When the Allies entered Paris, Talleyrand was made President of the provisional government, and he prevailed on the Emperor Alexander to declare the restoration of the Bourbons. In May, 1814, Talleyrand again became minister of foreign affairs, and in June he was created a prince and peer of France. He was sent as plenipotentiary to the Congress of Vienna, and successfully defended the claim of France to take part in the new arrangement of European affairs. Owing to his efforts France was left in full possession of all the territory it held in 1792.

When Napoleon returned from Elba, Talleyrand contented himself with calling on the Allies to help the king; and they, after Waterloo, required the king to restore him to his former post. He was, however, generally disliked, and disagreed with his colleagues. He therefore retired from office, but was made the king's chamberlain. As a member of the House of Peers he took delight in opposing and thwarting the acts of the government. In the three days' revolution in July, 1830, the veteran diplomatist was the chief adviser of Louis Philippe, and when he took the oath of allegiance, he remarked coolly, "It is the thirteenth time." The king offered him his old position, but he preferred to go as ambassador to England. He effected a reconciliation between the two countries, and remained in London four years. In January, 1835, he returned to France and retired to pri-

vate life. He died in Paris on the 17th of May, 1838, at the age of eighty-four.

Talleyrand left *Memoirs* which were to be kept secret for fifty years. They have been edited by Duc de Broglie, but are found to abound in falsehood and mystification. His *Letters*, more recently published, are equally disappointing. They amply confirm the impression of his character, derived from other sources. He was reserved, prudent, observant, sagacious, and always cool-headed. His character is well expressed in the saying, commonly but incorrectly attributed to him, "Language was given to us that we might disguise our thoughts." He never hesitated to tell a falsehood to accomplish any object, yet he was faithful to every trust committed to him. He was addicted to gambling, a lover of wealth, however acquired, shamelessly corrupt and immoral. He was a shrewd judge of men and nature, and of the probable course of events. It was his constant endeavor to be on the winning side, and in this his success was marvellous. His astuteness is most strongly manifest in his disapproval of Napoleon's usurpation in Spain and the wild project of Russian invasion, leading to his complete withdrawal from that conqueror's service. Talleyrand was a clever diplomatist because he used in his country's behalf the same shrewdness and stratagem that he employed for himself. But for the higher interests of humanity he cared nothing from first to last. Napoleon said of the man who had long been in most intimate relations with him: "Talleyrand was always in a state of treason, but it was a treasonable complicity with fortune herself. His circumspection was extreme; he conducted himself towards his friends as if, at some future time, they might be his enemies, and towards his enemies as if they might become his friends."

#### THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

M. de Talleyrand, the empire once established and fortunate, had attached himself to it with a sort of enthusiasm. The poesy of victory and the eloquence of an exalted imagination subdued for a time the usual nonchalance and moderation of his character. He entered into all Napoleon's plans for

reconstituting an Empire of the Franks, and reviving the system of fiefs and feudal dignitaries; by which it is, however, true, that the followers and favorites of the conqueror had nothing to lose. "Any other system," he said, "but a military one, is in our circumstances at present impossible. I am, then, for making that system splendid, and compensating France for her liberty by her grandeur."

The principality he enjoyed, though it by no means satisfied him, was a link between him and the policy under which he held it. He wished to keep it and to preserve the man, the fall of whom might take it away from him. But he had a strong instinct for the practical; all governments, according to his theory, might be made good, except an impossible one. A government depending on constant success in difficult undertakings, at home and abroad, was, according to his notions, impossible. This idea, after the Peace of Tilsit, more or less haunted him. It made him, in spite of himself, bitter against his chief—bitter at first, more because he liked him than because he disliked him. He would still have aided to save the empire, but he was irritated because he thought he saw the empire drifting into a system which would not admit of its being saved. A sentiment of this kind, however, is as little likely to be pardoned by one who is accustomed to consider that his will must be law, as a sentiment of a more hostile nature.

Napoleon began, little by little, to hate the man for whom he had felt at one time a predilection; and if he disliked any one, he did that which it is most dangerous to do, and most useless; that is, he wounded his pride without diminishing his importance. It is true that M. de Talleyrand never gave any visible sign of being irritated. But few, whatever the philosophy with which they forgive an injury, pardon an humiliation; and thus, stronger and stronger grew by degrees that mutual dissatisfaction which the one vented at times in furious reproaches, and the other disguised under a studiously respectful indifference.

This carelessness as to the feelings of those whom it would have been wiser not to offend, was one of the most fatal errors of the conqueror, who could not learn to subdue his own passions;

but he had become at this time equally indifferent to the hatred and affection of his adherents; and, under the ordinary conviction of persons over-satisfied with themselves, fancied that everything depended on his own merits, and nothing on the merits of his agents. The victory of Wagram, and the marriage with Marie-Louise, commenced, indeed, a new era in his history. Fouché was dismissed, though not without meriting a reprimand for his intrigues; and Talleyrand fell into unequivocal disgrace, in some degree provoked by his witticisms; whilst round these two men gathered a quiet and observant opposition, descending with the clever adventurer to the lowest classes, and ascending with the dissatisfied noble to the highest.

The scion of the princely house of Périgord was, indeed, from his birth, quite as much as from his position in the empire, at the head of the discontented of the aristocracy; M. de Talleyrand's house then (the only place, perhaps, open to all persons, where the government of the day was treated without reserve) became a sort of "rendezvous" for a circle which replied to a victory by a *bon mot*, and confronted the borrowed ceremonies of a new court by the natural graces and acknowledged fashions of an old one. All who remember society at this time will remember that the ex-minister was the sole person who had a sort of existence and reputation, separate and distinct from the chief of the state, whose policy he now affected to consider—and probably did consider—as verging towards the passion of a desperate gambler, who would continue to tempt Fortune until she grew weary and deserted him.

Nor did the Austrian alliance, which the emperor had lately formed, meet with M. de Talleyrand's approval, although he had at one period advised it, and been also mixed up in the question of a marriage with the imperial family of Russia. This change might have proceeded from his now seeing that such a union as he had at one time favored, in the hope that it would calm the restless energy of Napoleon, would only stimulate his ambition; or it might have been because, having had nothing to do with the resolutions adopted at Vienna, he had gained nothing by them. At all events, what



he said with apparent sincerity, was—"Nothing is ever got by a policy which you merely carry out by halves." "If the emperor wants an alliance with Austria, he should satisfy Austria; does he think that the House of Hapsburg considers it an honor to ally itself with the House of Bonaparte? What the Emperor of Austria desires, is to have his provinces restored, and his empire raised and revived: if the government of France does not do this, it disappoints him; and the worst enemies we can have are those we disappoint."

These sentiments, however, found as yet no echo out of the circle of a few independent and enlightened politicians.

I remember two of these, both high in the service of the empire—M. de Barante and M. Molé—referring in my hearing to a conversation they had had at the period I am speaking of, and one saying to the other, "Do you remember how we both looked at what was passing before us, magnificent as it was, as a scene in an opera, on which the curtain would drop before the eyes of the spectators, who were then gazing on it with admiration, were closed?"

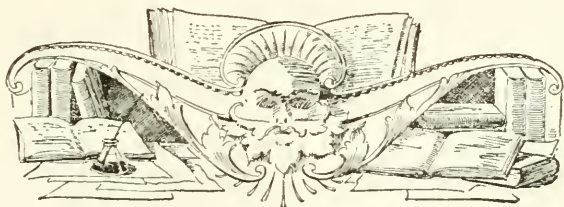
But the masses were still dazzled by the splendid achievements of a man who, of all others, in ancient or modern history, would have been the greatest if he had joined the instincts of humanity with those of genius: and now each day that passed added to the fatal disposition which separated his future from his past; each hour he became more haughty and self-confident, and more inclined to an isolated career, which neither tolerated counsel nor clung to affection. Josephine, the wife of his youth—Pauline, his favorite sister—Louis, his youngest brother—Massena, his ablest general—were added to the list on which his two ablest ministers were inscribed. He had no longer even the idea of conciliating mankind to his arbitrary authority. His mighty intellect, subdued by his still mightier ambition, submitted itself to adopt a system of despotism and oppression, which interfered not only with the political opinions, but with the daily wants of all his subjects and all his allies.

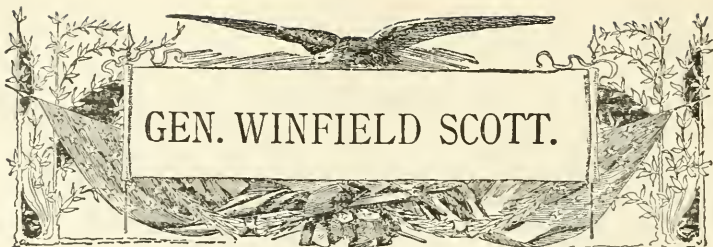
War with him had become an effort to exterminate those who still opposed him, by oppressing those who had hitherto aided him. Thus, he had seized the Roman pontiff, kid-

napped the Spanish king, taken violent possession of the Hanseatic towns and the north of Germany; and even those countries which were free from his armies, were bound, as he contended, to obey his decrees. In this state of things commenced the last and fatal struggle between the two potentates who had at first divided the world which they were now about to fight for. Nor was the justice of M. Talleyrand's views ever more conspicuous! The destruction of Prussia, by making Russia and France neighbors, had in itself tended to make them enemies. Moreover, the proud and offended, but dissimulating Czar, though redoubling his courtesy towards the court of France, after the choice of an Austrian archduchess, lest he might be supposed hurt by the rejection of a marriage with a princess of his own family, had begun to feel that, with the rest of continental Europe subdued and Austria apparently gained, he was alone in his independence, and to fret under the rein, which his imperious rider pulled, with superb indifference, somewhat too tightly.

Besides, though invested with unbounded authority over his people by law and custom, there was the example of his father to teach him that he could not wholly disregard their interests or wishes; yet this was what the Emperor of the French exacted from him. His subjects were not to sell their produce to the only purchaser who was ready and desirous to buy it; and being thus harshly and foolishly placed between revolution and war, Alexander chose the latter.

—SIR HENRY L. BULWER.





THE fame of Winfield Scott has suffered serious eclipse by the appalling grandeur of the events of the Civil War, in which he was too old and infirm seriously to engage. Before that time he was prominent among American generals for the excellence of his military judgment and the uniform success of his enterprises.

Winfield Scott was born near Petersburg, Virginia, on the 13th of June, 1786. He was the youngest son of William Scott, a farmer, whose ancestors had in Scotland supported the Stuart cause, and fought under the flag of the "Young Pretender." Winfield, after passing through the Richmond High School, studied law at the William and Mary College, and was admitted to the bar in 1806. When President Jefferson issued a proclamation prohibiting British armed vessels from entering the harbors of the United States, bodies of militia were enrolled for the defence of the coast. Scott became a member of a volunteer troop of horse in the summer of 1807, and a year later he was commissioned a captain of light artillery. In 1809 he joined the army under General Wilkinson, at New Orleans. Here he became aware of this general's association with Aaron



GENERAL SCOTT ENTERING THE CITY OF MEXICO.





Burr, and, carried away by his feelings, he remarked at a public table that he had never seen but two traitors,—Generals Wilkinson and Burr,—and that Wilkinson was a liar and a scoundrel. He was therefore tried by court-martial and found guilty of having uttered disrespectful language towards his superior officer. He was sentenced to be suspended “from all rank, pay, and emoluments, for the space of twelve months.” This enforced period of retirement was spent by the young soldier in the careful study of works on military science.

When the war of 1812 broke out he was commissioned as lieutenant-colonel in the Second Artillery, and was sent to take part in the invasion of Canada. His first battle was fought at Queenstown Heights, on the Niagara River, on the 13th of October. As the New York militia had refused to cross with him, Scott had but four hundred men under his command to oppose an enemy numbering thirteen hundred. With desperate valor he held out for a time against these overwhelming odds, but was forced at length to surrender. In January, 1813, he was regularly exchanged, and at midsummer took Fort Erie, and by skill and bravery won his laurels at the battles of Chippewa and Lundy’s Lane. In the latter conflict he was severely wounded and was obliged to resort to Philadelphia to receive surgical aid. Though the campaign of invasion had been, as a whole, unsuccessful, his victories were made conspicuous by the contrast. Not only was he commissioned major-general, but Congress passed a resolution of thanks for his skill and gallantry and presented him with a gold medal, while the legislatures of New York and Virginia presented him with splendid swords.

After the ratification of the treaty in February, 1815, over thirty years of general peace ensued. General Scott traveled in Europe, and had the pleasure of meeting many distinguished military men, among them the patriot Kosciuszko. After his return to America he married Miss Maria Mayo, a brilliant and accomplished Virginian lady. He was assigned to the command of the Eastern Division of the United States Army, with his headquarters at the city of New York. He prepared “General Regulations for the Army,” which were

published in 1821, and long remained the basis of its discipline. There occurred but slight opportunities for any active service; but in 1832 Scott commanded troops in South Carolina, and with mingled firmness and prudence maintained the authority of the Federal Government, which was threatened by the nullificationists. In 1836, he served in Florida against the Creeks; and in 1838 superintended the removal of the Cherokee Indians from Northern Georgia and adjoining States to the country west of the Mississippi. This difficult and delicate business he accomplished satisfactorily. By the death of General Macomb, in 1841, General Scott became the acting commander-in-chief of the army, with the full rank of major-general.

The annexation of Texas to the United States in 1845 was followed by a declaration of war against Mexico in 1846. The administration of President Polk was hostile to General Scott, and sought to deprive him of the honor of conducting the war. General Taylor was first employed in the invasion of Mexico by way of Texas; but the length of the route prevented his success, and compelled the adoption of the plan which General Scott had suggested at the outset as the only practicable one. He embarked in November, but it was late in February, 1847, before all the troops reached the island of Lobos. On the 29th of March the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, the chief defence of the city of Vera Cruz, surrendered to the American arms after a stubborn resistance. The loss of the Mexicans during the siege was about two thousand, whilst on the American side there were but thirteen killed and sixty-three wounded. General Scott hastened to reach the tablelands of the interior. In capturing the height of Cerro Gordo, Santa Anna, the provisional president of Mexico, and general-in-chief of her armies, barely escaped being taken prisoner. After Jalapa was secured Scott was obliged to wait some months for reinforcements. The occupation of Pueblo, the battles of Contreras and Churubusco, and the fall of San Antonio gave him direct approach to the capital, but he halted to negotiate peace. The terms were rejected, and the successful bombardment and storming of the almost inaccessible Chapultepec, led to the capture of the city of Mexico.

On the 14th of September, 1847, General Scott entered the Mexican capital with his victorious troops. Scott was now really the governor of Mexico. Alone he performed the duties of commander-in-chief, president of the country, and secretary of the treasury. The negotiation of the terms of peace was, through the jealousy of the administration, entrusted to others, and on the 19th of February, 1848, General Scott was, at his own request, relieved from duty in Mexico, and shortly afterwards returned home. The thanks of Congress and a gold medal were voted to him, and he received on all sides the congratulations of his countrymen.

In 1852 he received what he had long anxiously desired, the nomination of the Whig Party as their candidate for the presidency; but, though he had done valiant service for his country, and his capacity and integrity were beyond question, peculiarities of his temper rendered him a poor politician. He was completely defeated both in the North and South, only four States giving him their electoral vote. In 1855 the honorary rank of lieutenant-general, which had been in abeyance since the death of Washington, was revived and conferred upon Scott as a testimonial to his military merit.

When the Secession movement came on, Scott remained firm in his allegiance to the Union, and even when his native Virginia joined the Southern Confederacy, he did not waver. His attitude supported President Buchanan against pressure, otherwise overwhelming. His military advice assisted Lincoln in the opening days of the war. But as the aged veteran was unable to take the field, or even mount a horse, it became necessary to call a younger man to the chief command, and with his approval McClellan was chosen for the task. Scott afterwards went to Europe, but returned to reside at West Point. In 1864 he published his Autobiography, a work which did not add to his reputation, as it exhibits his faults more prominently than his good qualities. He died at West Point, New York, on the 29th of May, 1866.

Winfield Scott was the soul of honor. From his youth he was a firm supporter of the Union, and his military genius was ever at its service. He was frank and ingenuous by nature; ardent, ambitious and chivalric in his temperament. His

fondness for military discipline made him a stickler for points of etiquette, which exposed him sometimes to ridicule. His greatest fault was vanity, and this often made him enemies where otherwise he would have found friends. Yet the solid grandeur of his character favorably impressed all who were associated with him.

#### THE CAPTURE OF MEXICO.

Scott at length stood at the base of Chapultepec, with seven thousand men, resolved to carry it by storm, and then wheel his conquering battalions full on the capital and beat down its gates, while the shouts of victory were still carrying terror and dismay into the ranks of the enemy. By the first of September the hill had been boldly and thoroughly reconnoitered, every assailable point noted down, and the route of the assaulting columns marked out. At the same time, to deceive the enemy and prevent reinforcements from being flung into the fortress, he ordered Pillow, Quitman and Twiggs to advance along the causeway from San Antonio, and open their fire on the gates of the city. He thus kept Santa Anna in ignorance of his real point of attack, and the latter at once concentrated a large force in the city to resist the entrance of the American troops.

All was bustle and preparation at the base of Chapultepec. Four heavy batteries were planted in easy range of the fortress, to be ready by daylight to play against its solid sides and upon its frowning ramparts. The object of these was to weaken those strong defences and open up some accessible avenues to the assaulting columns. The heavy shot of the first gun knocked loudly on the portals, and called the astonished garrison to their pieces. In a few moments the whole, composed of eighteen and twenty-four pounders and eight-inch mortars, were in "awful activity," and when the early sunbeams gilded the splendid dome that crowned the height, they revealed many an ugly rent and ragged outline in the massive structure.

The enemy replied with all his heavy artillery, and soon the air was black with balls, and above them the heavens ablaze with burning shells. At the same time Twiggs was

thundering away at the gates of the city—explosion answered explosion, till the deafening reverberations were sent back from the distant Cordilleras. From daylight till dark the batteries never ceased playing. The garrison, except those necessary to man the guns, were driven from the works by this incessant and deadly firing, and remained outside towards the city. Here they stood to arms all day, ready the moment the firing ceased, to return and repel the assault. At nightfall, Scott, seeing that the fortress was severely shaken, prepared to storm it in the morning. That was a busy night, and but little sleep visited either officers or men, and by daylight on the morning of the 13th the separate divisions were all in their places. Scott had resolved to storm the heights in two columns—one, commanded by Pillow, was to advance on the west side; the other, by Quitman, on the southeast; each preceded by two hundred and fifty picked men. Worth's division received orders to act as a reserve, while Twiggs, away from the scene of action, was to keep playing on the gates of the city, and thus compel the portion of the enemy's army concentrated there to remain on the defensive. At daylight the American batteries again opened their fire, and again the massive columns within the fortress were driven out. It was known throughout the army that the cessation of the cannonading was to be the signal of assault. Every ear was therefore turned to catch the first lull in that incessant uproar, and every heart beat quicker as each explosion promised to be the last.

At length Scott sent word that the signal would soon be given, and at nine the sudden silence of the batteries announced that the hour had come. "Forward!" passed through the ranks, and those intrepid columns began the ascent. The moment they were in motion the batteries again opened, and canopied them with shots and shells, that went before to open the path to victory and keep back the reinforcements without. Pillow's column entered the forest, and sweeping it of the enemy, emerged on to the open ground and under a rocky height. Here Pillow fell, and the command devolved on the brave Cadwallader, who shouted "Forward" to that eager column, and it streamed up the rock,



taking the destructive volleys that thinned their ranks without flinching. Half-way between it and the castle walls stood a strong redoubt, whose batteries played with deadly effect on its uncovered head. The ground that intervened was broken by chasms and rocks, over which the troops slowly made their difficult way, firing as they went. The rapid and the fatal volleys of the two hundred and fifty men that moved in advance, swept everything down, and onward firmly and irresistibly crept the column. Reaching the redoubt, in which mines had been placed to blow up the victors, they carried it in one swift and terrible charge. So sudden and rapid was the onset, and so complete the overthrow, that the enemy had no time to fire his mines, and those who attempted it were shot down. "There was death below as well as above ground," but nothing could resist the progress of that heroic column. Leaving that redoubt behind, it marched straight on the walls of the castle. Scott watched its advance through fire and smoke, with an anxious heart, till it at length reached the ditch. The spectacle it presented at this moment aroused all the latent fire of his nature. Halting a moment till the ditch could be filled with fascines, and the scaling-ladders applied to the walls, it sternly stood and melted away under the fire of the enemy. At length the chasm was bridged, when the troops streamed over with shouts, and in a moment the ladders were bending under the weight of those who seemed eager to be the first in the portals of death. Pierced with balls or bayonets, the leaders fell back dead upon their comrades, but nothing could check the ardor of those that followed after. Bearing back by main force those that opposed their ascent, they climbed to the top, made a lodgment, and sent up a thrilling shout. "Streams of heroes followed," sweeping like a sudden inundation over the walls. Cheer after cheer arose from the ramparts; flag after flag was flung out from the upper walls, carrying "dismay into the capital."

Quitman, in the meantime, had made his way to the southeast walls, but being compelled to advance along a causeway defended by artillery and infantry, he was delayed in carrying them till the routed enemy above came on him in crowds. The troops turned on those with relentless fury.

Remembering their brave comrades at Molino del Rey, to whom no quarter was given, they mowed the Mexicans down without mercy. The New York, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania volunteers, however, by crossing a meadow, under a tremendous fire, and mounting swiftly to the castle, were in time for the assault. A detachment of New York volunteers, under Lieutenant Reid, and another of 2d infantry, led by Lieutenant Steele, were foremost on the ramparts. The former, cheering his men on, was the first to scale the heights and the wall. He was at length wounded, but refusing to retire, limped on his way, advancing still higher and higher towards the Mexican banner that waved above him. At length he reached it, and tearing it down with his own hands, fainted beside it. It was gallantly, nobly done.

The spectacle presented to Scott as he turned with his staff to ascend the hill filled his heart with joy and exultation. Those walls and ramparts which a few hours before bristled with the enemy's cannon, were now black with men, and fluttering with colors of his own regiments, while a perfect storm of hurrahs and cheers rolled towards heaven. As he passed up he saw his troops shooting down the helpless fugitives without mercy. He could not blame them, for he knew they were avenging the death of their brave comrades, to whom no mercy was shown at Molino del Rey, but unable to endure the inhuman spectacle, he rode up to the excited troops, and exclaimed, "Soldiers, deeds like yours are recorded in history. *Be humane and generous, my boys, as you are victorious, and I will get down on my bended knees to God for you, to-night.*"

As he reined up on the summit in the view of all, the very hill shook under their acclamations. It was a time for exultation to him, and he shared in the high enthusiasm of his troops. He had conquered—the day begun in anxiety was ending in glory. The capital was at his mercy, and as he stood on the top of that castle and looked off on the domes and towers of the city crowded with spectators, and down on the fugitive army fleeing towards its walls for shelter, he resolved at once to march on the gates and carry them by storm. Two causeways, starting from the base of the hill,

diverged as they crossed the marsh, and again contracted in approaching the city. Over these the Mexican host was streaming, infantry and artillery in wild confusion, pressed hard after by Worth and Quitman. But arches and gateways occurring at intervals, presented points for making vigorous stands against their advance, so that the battle had only rolled down the hill—not ended.

Behind these, the Mexicans again and again rallied and fought bravely. Fighting under the walls of their capital, they struggled desperately to save it from becoming the spoil of the victor. Worth pressed fiercely against the column before him, toward the San Cosmo gate, while Quitman was forcing his way along the San Belen aqueduct. To a spectator from the top of Chapultepec, the scene below at this time was indescribably fearful. The Americans appeared like a mere handful amid the vast crowds that darkened the causeways in front of him. But the clouds of smoke that wrapped the head of each column and the incessant explosions of cannon revealed where the American artillery was sternly mowing a path through the swaying masses for the victorious troops behind. The living parapets were constantly falling along the edges of those causeways, while the shouts and yells of the struggling thousands rose up from the mingled din and crash of arms like the cries of a drowning multitude, heard amid the roar of the storm. Scott surveyed at a glance this wild scene, and seeing what tremendous odds his brave troops below were contending against, hurried up reinforcements to their help. Officers were seen swiftly galloping from division to division, and soon Clarke's and Cadwallader's brigades moved rapidly over one causeway to the help of Worth, while that of Pierce took the other, on which Quitman was struggling. Crushing every obstacle in their path, those columns slowly, but steadily advanced. As they came near the city, where the causeways again approached each other, Worth sent an aide-de-camp to Scott, begging that Quitman might cease firing on the Belen gate, and turn his artillery on the column he was pushing before him. A few raking discharges on its flank would have rent it into fragments. Scott, knowing that the San Cosmo gate presented

the weakest defences, had determined to enter by it, and sent word again and again to Quitman to employ the enemy, rather than attempt to force the Belen gate. But that brave officer had remained in idleness at San Augustine long enough, while the rest of the army was covering itself with laurels. Through the deadly fires that smote him both from front and flank batteries, over every obstacle that opposed his progress, he still urged on his bleeding column till the gate was reached, when the gallant rifles dashed forward with a loud shout and carried it. The entrance was won, and Quitman stood within the city. Here he stubbornly maintained his position from two o'clock in the afternoon till night, under a galling fire from the guns of the citadel.

Worth, in the meantime, had advanced steadily towards the San Cosmo gate. Scott, after having seen to the prisoners of war and the wounded, hastened down the hill of Chapultepec and joined him in the hottest of the fire. Here, while in the act of handing an order to an officer, the horse of the latter was shot by his side. After giving directions to Worth, he returned to the foot of Chapultepec, and taking his station where the two causeways parted, directed the movements of both columns and sent forward help where it was most needed. By 8 o'clock, Worth was in the suburbs, and there, around two batteries which he had carried, rested his exhausted troops for the night.

Another night had come, giving repose to the weary soldier. The tumult and carnage of the day had ceased, and silence rested on the city, and our army under its walls. Quitman's troops, sleeping in heaps under the arches of the causeway, and Worth's by the San Cosmo gate, presented a striking contrast to these same soldiers a few hours before. What a day's march that army had made, and what a track it had left behind it! Two paths, lined with the dead, marked its passage up the slippery heights of Chapultepec—scattered masses of the slain showed where the tumultuous flight and headlong pursuit had swept like a loosened flood down the slope, while the two causeways, shattered and blackened, and streaked with blood, revealed the course its fiery footsteps had last taken in the road to victory.

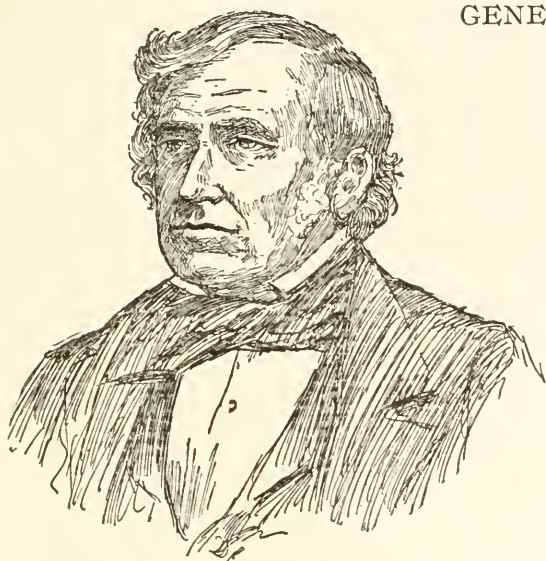
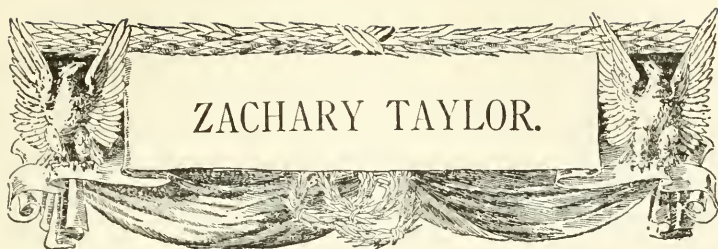
The morning of the 14th of September had not yet fully dawned when the army was in motion. A deputation from the city council in the mean time waited on the Commander-in-chief, announcing that Santa Anna, with the remnant of his army, had fled the city, and demanded "terms of capitulation in favor of the church, city, and the municipal authorities." Scott refused to grant any terms; the city was in his power; he was resolved to enter it sword in hand, and plant his triumphant banner on its walls by the right of conquest alone.

Slowly and cautiously, to guard against treachery, the columns proceeded in the early dawn towards the great public square. Quitman's division first approached it, and his troops, rushing with shouts upon it, hoisted their flag on the walls of the National Palace. Worth's division followed, and that little army of six thousand men stood in the heart of the capital, while long and deafening shouts proclaimed the joy of the conquerors. About nine o'clock a sudden bustle was seen in one corner of the square to which one of the streets led, and the next moment a long, loud hurrah broke forth. The troops had caught sight of the waving plumes and towering form of their commander, slowly advancing in the midst of a body of cavalry. As he entered the plaza, the whole army shouted as one man. Again and again that loud, frenzied hurrah swelled over the city, and swords flashed in the air, and caps waved, and drums rolled. It was a wild, enthusiastic welcome, worthy of their chief.

—J. T. HEADLEY.







#### GENERAL TAYLOR

owed his election to the presidency to his heroism displayed at Buena Vista. He was nominated in spite of misgivings on the part of the wisest leaders of his party, and proved a better president than might have been anticipated. He was the second

president that died during his term of office.

Zachary Taylor was born in Orange County, Virginia, September 24, 1784. His father, Colonel Richard Taylor, had served under General Washington during the Revolutionary struggle, and had proved himself a gallant soldier. He removed to Kentucky in 1785. Zachary, his third son, received such an education as a new settlement afforded. His early desire was to enter the army, and on May 3, 1808, he was commissioned first lieutenant in the Seventh Infantry by President Jefferson. He first reported for duty to General Wilkinson, then stationed at New Orleans. On June 18, 1810, he married Miss Margaret Smith, of Calvert County, Md.

When, on the 19th of June, 1812, war with Great Britain

was declared, Taylor, now captain, held command of Fort Harrison, on the Wabash River. With a handful of men he defended himself against the stratagem and attack of a large body of Indians. For this defence he received the brevet of major. Taylor's regiment was kept in the Northwest Territory during the entire period of hostilities. General Harrison, in his official dispatch in 1814, said: "Honor for special gallantry is due to Captain Zachary Taylor, of the Seventh United States Regiment, and for a prompt and efficient support in every instance," and Taylor then received a commission as major. When the army was reduced at the close of the war to 10,000 men, he was made captain, but resigned and went home, as he said, "to raise a crop of corn." He was soon recalled to his proper rank. From this period until 1836 Taylor passed his life in almost incessant warfare with the various Indian tribes in the Northwest. The most important campaigns were in the war with Black Hawk, who finally surrendered to Taylor, now colonel of the First Infantry. In the war with the Seminoles of Florida, he signalized himself by repeated acts of bravery, and was made brigadier-general for his victory at Okechobee.

When, in consequence of the annexation of Texas, war with Mexico was about to be declared, General Taylor was ordered, with his army, to occupy a position on the Texan side of the Rio Grande, which was still claimed by the Mexicans. On the 25th of July, 1845, General Taylor arrived at St. Joseph's Island. In August he removed to Corpus Christi. Here he and his little army, perhaps all told three thousand men, remained till March 8, 1846. Then Point Isabel was selected as a desirable spot for a depot, while Taylor built Fort Brown, thirty miles up the Rio Grande, nearly opposite Matamoras. The Mexican commander called upon him to break up his camp, and retire beyond the Nueces, which Mexico declared to be the true boundary of Texas. Upon his refusal the Mexicans crossed the Rio Grande to drive him out. Taylor, with part of his forces, was on his way from Point Isabel to Fort Brown, when he encountered the Mexican general Arista, with more numerous troops, in a country rendered difficult for action by the dense chapar-

ral. But the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma on the 8th and 9th of May drove the Mexicans precipitately back across the river, and Taylor, following, seized Matamoros.

The volunteers called out by the President's proclamation did not come to his aid until September, when he marched to Monterey, and after a severe struggle captured it on the 24th. After seven weeks' waiting for more troops the march into Mexico was resumed. The city of Victoria was occupied on December 29th, but the line of communication was found too long for the meagre force, and no reinforcements were sent. Taylor was already falling back to Monterey, when his regulars were taken from him to form part of the new expedition under General Scott. Santa Anna, the ablest Mexican general, learning of Taylor's weakened condition, believed that with his 21,000 veterans he could crush the 5,000 American volunteers. After a severe march over hundreds of miles he overtook the American general near the mountain pass of Buena Vista. He sent a messenger to announce his superiority in numbers, and demand an immediate surrender. Taylor modestly declined, and carefully availing himself of the natural advantages of the ground, prepared for the attack. On the 23d of February, 1847, the Mexicans were completely defeated with a loss thrice as great as the Americans. Captain Bragg, Jefferson Davis, and others afterwards prominent in history, contributed to this signal victory. Henry Clay's son fell at the head of his regiment.

In the following November, General Taylor returned home, and was received with enthusiastic expressions of popular favor. He retired to his farm at Baton Rouge; but in 1848 he was nominated by the Whig Convention, and was elected to fill the presidential chair. The administration of President Taylor was generally popular, especially in the Free States, but it disappointed the hopes of the pro-slavery party. He survived his inauguration but little more than a year. He died on the 9th of July, 1850. His last words were, "I am about to die. I expect the summons very soon. I have endeavored to discharge all my official duties faithfully. I regret nothing, but am sorry that I am about to leave my friends."

Taylor was noted for plainness in manner and speech. His soldiers gave him the familiar name of "Rough and Ready." As a commander he had unvarying success. His perfect coolness, his undaunted courage, his keen sagacity, his admirable generalship were apparent in the council and the field. His incorruptible simplicity and straightforward sincerity made him a match for leaders who prided themselves on their astute strategy.

### BUENA VISTA.

(A Mexican Poem.)

We saw their watch-fires through the night,  
Light up the far horizon's verge;  
We heard at dawn the gathering fight,  
Swell like the distant ocean surge—  
The thunder-tramp of mounted hordes  
From distance sweeps a boding sound,  
As Aztec's twenty thousand swords  
And clanking chargers shake the ground.

A gun!—now all is hushed again—  
How strange that lull before the storm!  
That fearful silence o'er the plain—  
Halt they their battle-line to form?  
It booms again—again—again—  
And through its thick and thunderous shock  
The war-scream seems to pierce the brain,  
As charging squadrons interlock.  
Columbia's sons—of different race—  
Proud Aztec and brave Alleghan,  
Are grappled there in death-embrace,  
To rend each other, man to man!

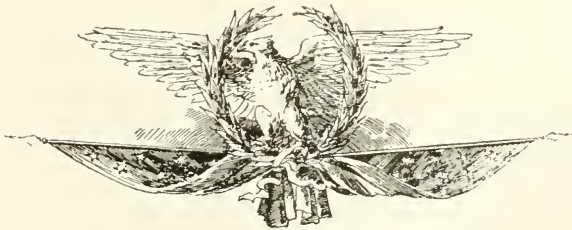
The storm-clouds lift, and through the haze,  
Dissolving in the noontide light,  
I see the sun of Aztec blaze  
Upon her banner, broad and bright!  
And on—still on, her ensigns wave,  
Flinging abroad each glorious fold:  
While drooping round each sullen stave  
Cling Alleghan's but half unrolled.

But stay ! what shout has stirred the air ?  
 I see the stripes—I see the stars—  
 O God ! who leads the phalanx there,  
 Beneath those fearful meteor bars ?  
 “ OLD ZACK ”—“ OLD ZACK ”—the war-cry rattles,  
 Amid those men of iron tread,  
 As rang “ Old Fritz,” in Europe’s battles,  
 When thus his host great Frederic led !

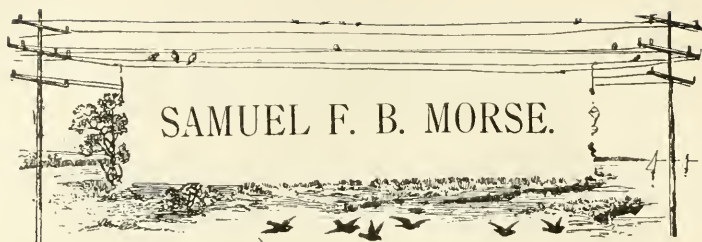
And where, O where is Aztec ?—where,  
 As now the rush of Alleghan  
 Resistless tramples to despair  
 The ranks of our victorious van ?  
 Still charging onward, ever—ever,  
 They shatter now our central might,  
 Where half our bravest lances shiver,  
 Still struggling to maintain the fight !

Still struggling, from the carnage dire  
 To snatch our patriot chief away—  
 Who, crushed by famine, steel and fire,  
 Yet claims as his the desperate day ;  
 That day whose sinking light is shed  
 O’er Buena Vista’s field, to tell  
 Where round the sleeping and the dead,  
 Stalks conquering TAYLOR’s sentinel.

—J. H. A. DE SALTILO.







THE electric telegraph is entirely an American invention, a fitting application of the discoveries of Franklin and other Americans for practical purposes.

Samuel Finley Breese Morse, to whom the invention is due, was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, April 27, 1791. He was the eldest son of Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D.D., a Congregational minister, whose name is associated with the first geographical text-books published in this country, and with some

historical works. Having graduated at Yale College in 1810, Morse chose the profession of an artist, and placing himself under the tuition of Washington Allston, accompanied him to London, where he also took lessons from Copley and Benjamin West. In 1813 his first effort in sculpture, an original model of the "Dying Hercules," obtained for him the gold medal of the Adelpia Society of Arts, and his painting of the same subject, exhibited at the Royal Academy, was classed among the twelve best paintings in the gallery.

Returning to the United States in 1815, he found remunerative employment in painting portraits, first at Boston, and afterwards in New Hampshire and at Charleston, S. C. His talents, however, were not fully appreciated until he removed to New York in 1822, when he received a commission from the city authorities to paint a full-length portrait of Lafayette.

Two years later he organized, with other artists, the Drawing Association, which led to the founding of the National Academy of Design, of which he was the president for sixteen years. In 1829 Morse paid another visit to Europe, and spent over three years in the principal art centres of the continent. He had already lectured on the fine arts at the New York Athenæum, and during his absence in Europe was appointed professor of the literature of the arts of design in the University of New York City.

On his return voyage to the United States, in 1832, Morse first essayed a practical application of the principles of the telegraph. A fellow-passenger, Dr. Charles T. Jackson, who had studied in the laboratories of Paris, described an experiment by which electricity had been instantaneously transmitted over a long length of wire. Morse then suggested that messages could be thus transmitted by electricity. Before the end of the voyage Morse had sketched a complete set of apparatus, and was laboring to formulate an alphabet. After arriving in New York he continued his experiments, and by the end of that year had a great part of the necessary apparatus constructed. But it was not till 1835 that he completed his first model of a recording instrument. He was now able to show a telegraph in full operation over half a mile of wire stretched round a room. Parts of the great scheme were due to the suggestions of others. The inventor sought information from every available source.

Morse gave an exhibition of his apparatus to the students in the University of New York City. Among those present was Alfred Vail, who invited Morse to Speedwell. Vail's father promised to assist with money in perfecting the invention. It was estimated that a sum of two thousand dollars would be necessary to secure the patent and construct the required apparatus. Morse had devised a system of leaden types, by which signals were recorded; but Vail constructed an instrument on a different principle, involving the lever or "point," which produced dots and dashes. His next step was to devise an alphabetical code. This led to the production of the dot and dash alphabet known as the "Morse." In January, 1838, the completion of the machine was an-

nounced. Judge Vail went into the operating room, and found his son at one end of a three-mile wire, stretched round the walls, and Morse at the other. He wrote on paper, "A patient waiter is no loser," and handing it to his son, said, "If you can dispatch this from one end, and Morse can read it at the other, then I shall be convinced." This was immediately done.

In 1837 Morse had filed his first caveat in the Patent Office, Washington, and asked Congress for an appropriation to build a telegraph line from Washington to Baltimore. The committee on commerce reported favorably, but no action was taken. Then Mr. Morse went to Europe, in the hope of interesting foreign governments in his invention, but there he was equally unsuccessful. He was refused letters patent in England, and could obtain no exclusive privilege in any other country, with the exception of a "brevet d' invention" from France. He returned to America penniless and downcast, and commenced a heroic struggle for recognition, in the face of dire poverty and every species of discouragement. He persisted in bringing the matter before Congress. On the last night of the session of the Twenty-seventh Congress, March 4, 1843, he left the Capitol, thoroughly discouraged, but in the morning he was surprised with the joyful news that his application had been successful. In the confusion and hurry of the midnight hour Congress had, by a vote of 90 to 82, granted an appropriation of \$30,000, for an experimental line between Washington and Baltimore.

But there were yet much trouble and disappointment in store. Morse had designed a system of leaden pipes to run underground. About ten miles of the system had been completed, and all but \$7,000 of the appropriation spent, when Morse became convinced that this plan would not answer. A whole year had been spent in fruitless endeavor. At last Morse gave the mechanical part of the work into the hands of Ezra Cornell, who abandoned the pipe system, and insulated the wires upon poles. On May 24, 1844, the line was complete. Again Morse stood at one end of the wire and Alfred Vail at the other. The first message was suggested by Annie G. Ellsworth, and was flashed from Washington to Baltimore:

"What hath God wrought?" The success of the new invention was brought prominently before the world by its announcing in Washington the nomination of James K. Polk for the presidency, at the Democratic convention in Baltimore. The apparatus worked only imperfectly at first, but the feasibility of the great project was assured, and the struggle of invention was practically over. But though the utility of the Morse system of telegraphy was demonstrated, there still were needed great efforts to make it a commercial success.

Gradually, through the enterprise and business tact of Amos Kendall, companies were formed by which the invention was brought into general use throughout the United States. Now followed a series of vexatious law-suits, arising out of the violation of Morse's patents. But these were all ultimately decided in his favor, and he had the satisfaction of deriving a large fortune from his American and European royalties, and also of witnessing the universal recognition of the service he had rendered mankind.

The Morse system ultimately became the property of a joint-stock company, called the Magnetic Telegraph Company. The electric telegraph spread with astonishing rapidity over all the civilized world. In 1869 it was stated by the Western Union Company that the Morse system had been adopted in ninety-five per cent. of all the telegraphs then in existence. From this time forward honors fell thick and fast upon the artist-inventor. His own Alma Mater conferred upon him the degree of LL.D., and he received tokens of distinction from nearly all the crowned heads of Europe, as well as from scientific societies.

Morse also demonstrated the practicability of the submarine telegraph, by laying a cable between Castle Garden and Governor's Island, in New York harbor. But the labor and honor of carrying this new application to its successful consummation, in laying a cable across the Atlantic, belongs to Cyrus W. Field. Morse acted as electrician to the New York, Newfoundland and London Telegraph Company, which was organized for this purpose.

Morse, having become acquainted with Daguerre during his visit to Europe, acquired the Daguerre process of taking

pictures by sunlight, and shares with Professor John W. Draper the honor of being the first American to take photographs of living persons. This was in 1840.

A bronze statue of the inventor of the telegraph was erected in Central Park, New York, in June, 1871. Morse's last public act was the unveiling of the Franklin statue in Printing-house Square, New York, in January, 1872. Shortly after this ceremony he was seized with neuralgia in the head, and died after a few months of suffering, April 2, 1872.

Morse was six feet tall, slender and graceful. In manner he was sober, quiet, and dignified; pleasant in company and a model in domestic life. He was a man of very decided religious character, and amid all the vicissitudes of his life maintained his conscientious and devotional habits. He wrote many books and pamphlets, scientific and controversial.

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE TELEGRAPH.

When we consider the many startling forms in which electricity presents itself, it is not surprising that so many centuries elapsed before men dared to confront and question its awful mystery. And it was fitting that here, in this new, free world, the first answer came revealing to our Franklin the great truth that the lightning of the sky and the electricity of the laboratory were one; that in the simple electric toy were embodied all the mysteries of the thunderbolt. Until near the beginning of the present century the only known method of producing electricity was by friction. But the discoveries of Galvani in 1790, and of Volta in 1810, resulted in the production of electricity by the chemical action of acids upon metals, and gave to the world the Galvanic battery and the Voltaic pile, and the electric current. This was the first step in that path of modern discovery which led to the telegraph. But further discoveries were necessary to make the telegraph possible.

The next great step was taken by Oersted, the Swedish professor, who, in 1819-'20, made the discovery that the needle when placed near the galvanic battery was deflected at right angles with the electric current. In the four modest



pages in which Oersted announced this discovery to the world the science of electro-magnetism was founded.

As Franklin had exhibited the relation between lightning and the electric fluid, so Oersted exhibited the relation between magnetism and electricity. From 1820 to 1825, his discovery was further developed by Davy and Sturgeon, of England, and Arago and Ampère, of France. They found that by sending a current of electricity through a wire coiled around a piece of soft iron, the iron became a magnet while the current was passing, and ceased to be a magnet when the current was broken. This gave an intermittent power, a power to grapple and to let go, at the will of the electrician. Ampère suggested that a telegraph was possible, by applying this power to a needle.

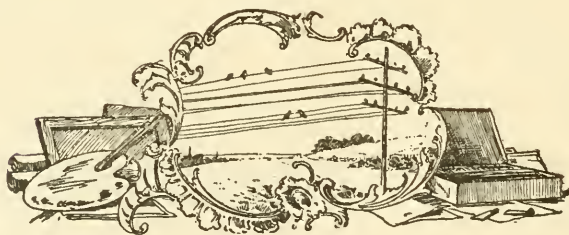
In 1825, Barlow, of England, made experiments to verify this suggestion of the telegraph, and pronounced it impracticable on the ground that the batteries then used would not send the fluid through even two hundred feet of wire without a sensible diminution of its force.

In 1831, Joseph Henry, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, then a professor at Albany, New York, as the result of numerous experiments, discovered a method by which he produced a battery of such intensity as to overcome the difficulty spoken of by Barlow in 1825. By means of this discovery he magnetized soft iron at a great distance from the battery, pointed out the fact that a telegraph was possible, and actually rang a bell by means of the electro-magnet acting on a long wire. This was the last step in the series of great discoveries which preceded the invention of the telegraph.

When these discoveries ended, the work of the inventor began. It was in 1832, the year that succeeded the last of these great discoveries, when Professor Morse first turned his thoughts to that work whose triumph is the triumph of his race. He had devoted twenty-two years of his manhood to the study and practice of art. He had sat at the feet of the great masters of Europe, and had already, by his own works of art, achieved a noble name from the work of interpreting, and he now turned to the grander work of interpreting to the

world that subtle and mysterious element with which the thinkers of the human race had so long been occupied.

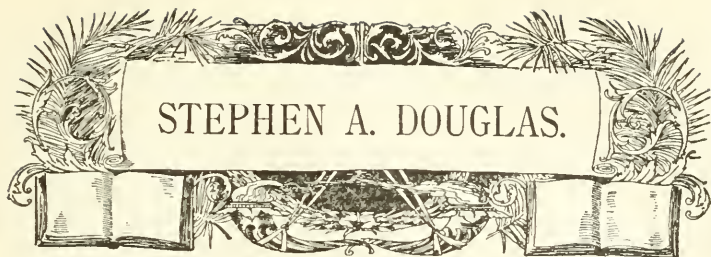
I cannot here recount the story of that long struggle through which he passed to the accomplishment of his great result; how he struggled with poverty, with the vast difficulties of the subject itself, with the unfaith, the indifference, and the contempt which almost everywhere confronted him; how, at the very moment of his triumph, he was on the verge of despair, when in this very Capitol his project met with the jeers of almost a majority of the National Legislature. But when has despair yielded to such a triumph? When has such a morning risen on such a night? To all cavilers and doubters, this instrument and its language are a triumphant answer. That chainless spirit which fills the immensity of space with its invisible presence; which dwells in the blaze of the sun, and follows the path of the farthest star, and courses the depths of earth and sea—that mighty spirit has at last yielded to the human will. It has entered a body prepared for its dwelling. It has found a voice through which it speaks to the human ear. It has taken its place as the humble servant of man; and through all coming time its work will be associated with the name and fame of Samuel F. B. Morse.—J. A. GARFIELD.







SEWARD, STEPHENS, DOUGLASS, CLASE, SUMNER.



AMONG American leaders, who owe their influence to oratory, no one had a stronger hold on the affection of the people than Stephen A. Douglas. Like Henry Clay, among the Whigs, Douglas was the idol of the Democratic masses. Throughout his stormy career he maintained his potent leadership by his fixed belief in, and courageous avowal of, "popular sovereignty."

Stephen Arnold Douglas was born at Brandon, Vermont, on the 23d of April, 1813. His father's early death compelled his mother to make her home with her brother on a farm. Here Stephen worked in the summer and attended school in the winter. At the age of fifteen he began to work for a cabinetmaker, and having saved a little money was able to enter an academy. In 1830 he removed with his mother to Canandaigua, New York, and there began the study of law. At the age of twenty he went westward, seeking a position which would give him the means of further study. At Winchester, Illinois, he taught school and studied law until he was admitted to the bar in 1834. He opened an office at Jacksonville, and was soon so popular that within a year he was made attorney-general of the State. Some months later he was elected to the legislature, and there obtained the name of "Little Giant," from the intellectual ability contained in his small person. He was already an effective stump-speaker and a leader of the Democratic Party in the State. In 1837 he was appointed registrar of the Land Office at Springfield.



As soon as Douglas was of the constitutional age for admission to Congress he was a candidate, but was defeated because in some ballots cast for him his name was misspelled. In the presidential campaign of 1840 he was specially active, traversing Illinois for seven months, and addressing more than two hundred political meetings. Douglas was then appointed Secretary of State for Illinois, and in the next year was elected by the legislature a judge of the Supreme Court. His courage was displayed in quelling a mob at the trial of Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet. In 1843 Douglas, called again by his party to become a candidate for Congress, was elected. He was a strenuous upholder of the claims of the United States to Oregon, and a strong advocate of the annexation of Texas. He remained in the Lower House till 1847, when he was elected by the legislature to the United States Senate. He supported President Polk's administration in its war measures against Mexico. When the slavery question came to the front Douglas was in favor of redressing the grievances of the Southern States. He approved the compromises offered by Henry Clay, including the Fugitive Slave law. His course in regard to the latter was strongly denounced in Illinois, and he was obliged to defend it. Such was the power of his oratory that he was able not only to face, but to convert to his side, large gatherings of people who had assembled to disapprove his action. In 1852 he was a prominent candidate for the presidential nomination in the Democratic National Convention.

Douglas was well aware that some new policy must be adopted to reconcile the diverging views of the North and South. The latter required an increase of the area devoted to slavery; the former was opposed to its extension. Douglas devised a method to accomplish this end by giving to actual settlers in all the Territories the right to decide whether slavery should be allowed in their new States or not. This doctrine of "popular sovereignty" was widely accepted as in conformity with American practice. It was embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854, which practically repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820. The presentation of this measure, so far from producing harmony, aroused a whirlwind

of antagonism. Douglas was denounced throughout the North, but his courage did not quail. When he returned to Chicago he endeavored to placate the enraged people, but his oratory was drowned in the outcries of a mob. This opposition was partly due to the fact that Douglas had already openly censured the "Know-Nothing," or Native American movement, which had recently manifested itself in various parts of the country.

In 1856 Douglas was again a candidate for the presidential nomination at the Democratic Convention in Cincinnati, and received a large vote; but when Buchanan obtained a majority Douglas withdrew in his favor, thus giving him the two-thirds required by the party rules. The struggle in Kansas between the anti-slavery and pro-slavery contestants was still raging fiercely. The latter had framed a Constitution at Lecompton, and though it was rejected by a popular vote, still pressed for the admission of Kansas as a State under that Constitution. President Buchanan, like his predecessor Pierce, yielded to this pressure, and supported their efforts to have Kansas admitted as a slave State. But Douglas courageously resisted these violations of his doctrine of the absolute right of the people to decide their organic laws. Henceforth the influence of Buchanan's administration was turned against Douglas, even in his own State. But he retained the favor of the Democratic masses.

Douglas's senatorial term was drawing to a close in 1858, and he desired to secure a legislature favorable to his re-election. The Republicans prevailed upon Abraham Lincoln to lead the opposition in Illinois. These two effective speakers had already measured each other's strength in political campaigns, and Douglas had been the more successful, the State being Democratic. Arrangements were now made for a series of joint debates in the most important districts. Douglas displayed his customary brilliancy and shrewdness, but Lincoln pressed him home with questions which compelled him to disclose the true tendency of his doctrine. His answers were satisfactory to the Democrats of the North, but when reported at the South cut him off from the sympathy of its leaders. In the State of Illinois there was a popular majority

of four thousand votes for Lincoln, but owing to the unequal arrangement of legislative districts, Douglas had a majority in the legislature, and was returned to the Senate. In the Democratic Convention of 1860 Douglas was the most prominent candidate, but his speeches and answers in the debate with Lincoln had cut him off from the sympathy of the Southern leaders. The convention at Charleston divided without making a nomination, as no candidate could secure the requisite two-thirds, though Douglas had a decided majority. The later convention, held by adjournment at Baltimore, was composed chiefly of his partisans, and finally nominated him unanimously. The seceding delegates nominated John C. Breckinridge. Douglas received 1,375,157 of the popular vote, yet only 12 electoral votes. Lincoln was elected by a plurality of the popular vote.

Douglas, in 1858 and again in 1860, traveled through the Southern States and made many speeches, earnestly deprecating secession, but his appeals were in vain. When Lincoln was inaugurated, Douglas gave him cordial support; and when the Civil War began, he approved of the war to maintain the Union. His health had broken down, but he continued to urge upon his friends and followers to be loyal to the Constitution. He died in Chicago, on the 3d of June, 1861. In that city a splendid monument, surmounted by a statue by Volk, is erected to his memory.

Douglas was twice married: first, in 1847, to Martha, daughter of Colonel Martin, of North Carolina; and secondly, in 1856, to Adèle, daughter of James M. Cutts, of Washington.

Great as was the popularity of Douglas and his activity in regard to all public matters, important as were the issues to which he devoted his strength, his fame, once so bright, has paled before that of his great rival, whom he seemed long to have eclipsed. Douglas is remembered rather as the competitor of Lincoln than as the typical Western statesman. The measures for which he labored have passed away, but his devotion to the Union is an enduring halo to his name.

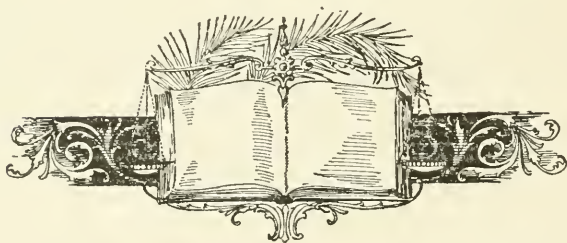
## AMERICAN POLICY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. (1851.)

We should not close our eyes to the fact that a great movement is in progress which threatens the existence of every absolute government in Europe. It will be a struggle between liberal and absolute principles—between republicanism and despotism. Are we to remain cold and indifferent spectators when the time of action shall arrive, and the exciting scene shall be presented to our view? Will it not become our duty to do whatever the interest, honor, and glory of our country may require, in pursuance of the law of nations, to give encouragement to that great movement? Should we not recognize the independence of each republic as soon as it shall be established, open diplomatic intercourse, form commercial treaties, and, in short, extend the right hand of fellowship, tendering all the courtesies and privileges which should exist between friendly nations of the same political faith? I think that the bearing of this country should be such as to demonstrate to all mankind that America sympathizes with the popular movement against despotism, whenever and wherever made.

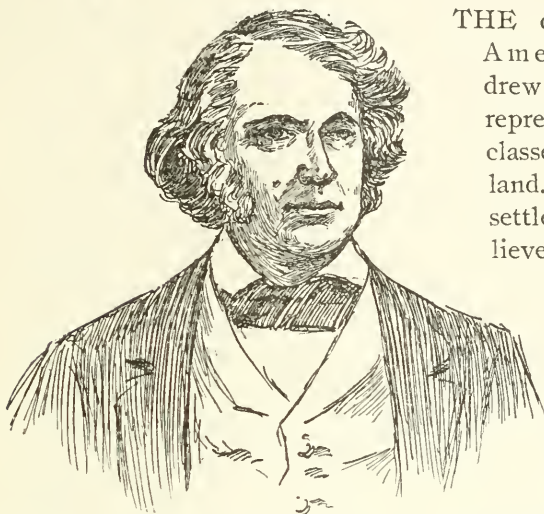
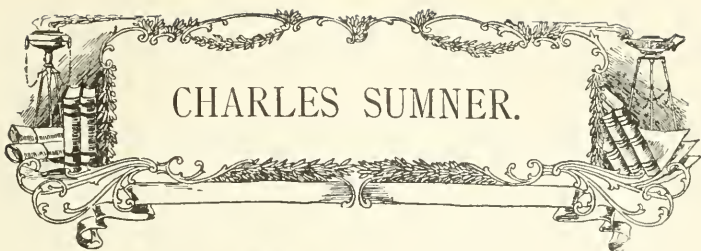
Something has been said about an alliance with England to restrain the march of Russia over the European continent. I am free to say that I desire no alliance with England or with any other crowned head. I am not willing to acknowledge that America needs England as an ally to maintain the principles of our government. Nor am I willing to go to the rescue of England, to save her from the power of the autocrat, until she assimilates her institutions to ours. Hers is a half-way house between despotism and republicanism. She is responsible as much as any power in Europe for the failure of the revolutionary movements which have occurred within the last four years. English diplomacy, English intrigue, and English perfidy put down the revolution in Sicily and in Italy, and was the greatest barrier to its success even in Hungary. So long as England shall, by her diplomacy, attempt to defeat liberal movements in Europe, I am utterly averse to an alliance with her to sustain her monarch, her nobles and her privileged classes.

I repeat, I desire no alliance with England. We require no assistance from her, and will yield none to her until she does justice to her own people. The peculiar position of our country requires that we should have an *American policy* in our foreign relations, based upon the principles of our own government, and adapted to the spirit of the age. We should sympathize with every liberal movement, recognize the independence of all republics, form commercial treaties, and open diplomatic relations with them, protest against all infractions of the law of nations, and hold ourselves ready to do whatever our duty may require when a case shall arise.

—S. A. DOUGLAS.







THE crusade against American slavery drew into its ranks representatives of all classes of New England. The Puritan settlers had not believed in the equality of all men, but when their descendants did at last accept it as truth, their conscience compelled them to put it in prac-

tice—to abolish slavery in their own community, to oppose it as far as their influence reached. In the second quarter of this century, when slavery took a firmer hold of the South, the Abolition movement began in the North; in the third it reached its triumph, and no man was more effective in it than Sumner, the scholarly lawyer, who was but slowly dragged from professional work and delightful studies to enter the political arena, and urge an unrelenting fight against the evil which threatened the national life.

Charles Sumner was born in Boston, on the 6th of January, 1811. He was descended from one of the earliest settlers of Dorchester. His father, a lawyer and sheriff of Suffolk county, was a man of good local repute. Charles, entering Harvard College at the age of fifteen, showed special fondness for the classics, general literature and oratory. After

graduating he studied law, but continued to extend his general reading, being always noted for seriousness, industry, purity of life, and thirst for knowledge.

In 1835 Judge Joseph Story appointed Sumner a commissioner of the circuit court and reporter. He also engaged in lecturing and writing on literary and legal topics, and edited the "American Jurist." His friendships were chiefly with persons of scholarly tastes. In December, 1837, he went to France, where he spent five months in diligent observation of society and in attendance on lectures by the most noted professors. Ten months were devoted to England, where he was well received by the best classes; six months were given to Italy, its art and literature; five to Germany; and then, after a further visit to England, he returned to Boston to enjoy and contribute to the culture of its best society. He did not neglect his duty to his country, but wished to take John Quincy Adams as his model. In 1842 Webster, being Secretary of State, demanded from the British government the return of the slaves who had obtained freedom by rising against the officers of the coasting vessel "Creole," and putting into Nassau. Sumner publicly criticised Webster's action, as contrary to the principles of international law. In other instances he showed sympathy with movements against slavery; but his time and attention were chiefly devoted to professional work. On the 4th of July, 1845, he delivered his memorable oration on "The True Grandeur of Nations." Though addressed to an audience largely composed of military organizations, it was a severe denunciation of war as always wrong, and an elaborate, eloquent plea for peace and international arbitration. In the following November, at a meeting in Faneuil Hall, presided over by Charles Francis Adams, and called to protest against the admission of Texas, Sumner formulated the idea which governed his entire career, pronouncing slavery sectional, and not national, and that the Federal Constitution was always to be interpreted in the interest of human freedom.

Sumner had thus far been a Whig in politic, and in 1846, when the Mexican war was imminent, he urged upon Webster and other leaders the duty of directing that party to open

opposition to slavery. The first result was a division in Massachusetts between the "Conscience Whigs" and the "Cotton Whigs," who wished to retain close relation with the South. When the Whig national convention nominated General Zachary Taylor for the presidency, the anti-slavery men organized the Free-Soil Party, and Sumner was made secretary of its State committee. He was also nominated for Congress, but defeated by Robert C. Winthrop. Sumner continued his public activity in opposition to the pro-slavery policy of Congress, and especially denounced the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, as a retrograde step.

In Massachusetts the little band of Free-Soilers now united with the Democrats, and succeeded in electing a majority of the legislature. Democratic candidates were elected for the governorship and other offices, but the struggle over the election of Sumner to the United States Senate lasted three months. Personally no man was better fitted to represent a sovereign commonwealth in that august body—tall, graceful, majestic in appearance, with a mind stored with ancient and modern learning, full of noble pride, free from envy or vanity. In that body Sumner appeared as the uncompromising foe of slavery and advocate of human freedom as guaranteed by the Constitution. His views were first fully set forth in August, 1852, in his speech on "Freedom National, Slavery Sectional." The tendency in Congress was still in favor of concession to the increasing demands of the slave-power. In 1854 the ancient landmark of the Missouri Compromise was removed by Senator Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska bill, against which Sumner, after a course of determined opposition, uttered a solemn protest. This fearless assailant of slavery now became the target for all the missiles of the dominant party. In March, 1856, Douglas proposed the admission of Kansas as a slave state; and in May Sumner spoke on "The Crime against Kansas." It was a prophetic warning against fratricidal war as an inevitable result of the action of the slavery-propagandists, and called forth severe replies. Among those censured in the speech was Senator Butler, of South Carolina. Two days later, while Sumner was sitting writing at his desk after the adjournment

of the Senate, he was assaulted with a heavy cane by Preston Brooks, a nephew of Butler and representative from South Carolina. Sumner, who had been shut in by his desk and chair, fell senseless to the floor. The outrage was fiercely denounced through the Northern States, but a motion to expel Brooks from the House of Representatives failed for lack of a two-thirds vote. Brooks, however, resigned his seat and appealed to his constituents, by whom he was unanimously re-elected. Sumner's spine had been injured, and he was long incapacitated for public service; but when, in November, he returned to Boston, he was greeted with the highest honors by the people. In January, 1857, he was re-elected senator, though still unable to take his place, and in March he sailed for Europe to undergo severe medical treatment. Six times he endured the moxa without taking chloroform.

After more than three years' absence Sumner, still enfeebled, returned to the Senate in December, 1859, and in the following June he delivered another powerful speech on "The Barbarism of Slavery," which his opponents allowed to remain unanswered. The election in the following November resulted in the triumph of the Republican Party, and the Southern senators were busy in carrying out their projects of secession. When President Lincoln was inaugurated the Senate had a Republican majority, and Sumner was made chairman of the committee on foreign affairs. His special fitness for this place at a most critical juncture was shown when he advocated the release of the Confederate envoys captured on the British mail-steamer "Trent." In spite of his former views in regard to the unwisdom of war, he concurred in all measures for suppressing the Rebellion; he steadily urged the confiscation and emancipation of the slaves of owners who fought against the Union; he promoted the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the recognition of the negro republics of Hayti and Liberia; he introduced the bill for employing negro soldiers in the Union army. President Lincoln acknowledged his indebtedness to Sumner for wise advice and efficient support.

After the war came the serious problem of reconstruction.



Sumner took the extreme ground that the seceding States had divested themselves of statehood, and were therefore in the condition of Territories, to be restored as States at the pleasure of Congress. This view was finally rejected by the Supreme Court, and though it was never fully adopted by Congress, it had much effect upon legislation.. It was altogether opposed by President Andrew Johnson, and Sumner, therefore, was urgent for his impeachment and removal from office. Sumner materially assisted Secretary Seward's purchase of Alaska from the Russian government. He opposed the treaty with Great Britain, which had been negotiated by Reverdy Johnson, because it made no provision for settling the claims growing out of British violations of neutrality during the Civil War. He supported the subsequent Treaty of Washington (1870), which arranged for an international tribunal to hear and adjust the so-called "Alabama claims." Sumner had urged strenuously the American demand for "indirect damages," but these were eventually thrown out by the tribunal at Geneva.

President Grant earnestly desired the annexation of San Domingo to the United States, and, without taking Sumner into his confidence, made arrangements for its purchase; but the Senator, fearing the effect of its occupation on the adjacent republic of Hayti, opposed the scheme. This led to entire estrangement between Sumner and the President and his Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish. As the relations between the secretary and the chairman of the committee on foreign affairs should be easy and confidential, the Senate thought it expedient to remove Sumner from the chairmanship which he had held for ten eventful years. They assigned him another chairmanship, but he declined the place. Thereafter, in company with Trumbull, Schurz and others, he indulged freely in criticisms on Grant's administration for selling arms to the French government during the Franco-Prussian war, and for other faults. Notwithstanding Sumner's bitter speech against Grantism, shortly before the Republican Convention met in 1872, the President was re-nominated with practical unanimity. Sumner advised his friends to vote for Horace Greeley, who had been nominated by a convention of



Liberal Republicans and endorsed by the Democratic Convention. Before the election he had gone to Europe for further medical treatment on account of his former injuries.

On his return to the Senate he offered a resolution for removing from regimental colors the names of battles won over fellow-citizens. Not only was this rejected, but the Massachusetts legislature passed a vote of censure upon him for the proposal; yet, upon a better understanding of his magnanimity, rescinded it shortly before his death. The chief labor of the last years of his life was in preparing and forwarding a Civil Rights bill to enforce the latest Amendments of the Constitution, and to secure for the freedmen equality with the whites so far as law could provide. Although the bills he prepared for this purpose were rejected more than once, a modified measure of that kind was passed soon after his death, but was finally declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Sumner died in Washington, on the 11th of March, 1874. He had been married to Mrs. Hooper in 1866, but on account of incompatibility they separated in the next year, and were divorced in 1873.

Sumner was a man of fine personal presence, six feet four inches tall, with the constitution of an athlete, before the murderous assault upon him. He was the most widely cultivated man in the Senate, and ranked high among its orators. He made a practice of preparing his speeches with great care for delivery on selected occasions. They were adorned with appropriate quotations from the classics and from foreign tongues, and were intended to be read rather than merely listened to. Though prominent from his very entrance into the Senate, he never was popular. His high self-esteem, his scholarly habits, unremitting industry, and disdain for compromises, prevented his cultivating close acquaintance with his associates. In his struggles against the slave-power, he was entirely free from personal animosity. Utterly careless and fearless for himself, he worked on with an indomitable will. His quarrel with Grant was partly due to a prejudiced feeling that, as a military man, he was unfitted for civil office and high statesmanship, and partly to an intense, overweening anxiety for the interests of the black race. He was domi-

nated by a vigorous conscience to labor for the welfare of humanity.

#### ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Mr. President, with unspeakable delight I hail this measure and the prospect of its speedy adoption. It is the first instalment of that great debt which we all owe to an enslaved race, and will be recognized in history as one of the victories of humanity. At home, throughout our own country, it will be welcomed with gratitude, while abroad it will quicken the hopes of all who love freedom. Liberal institutions will gain everywhere by the abolition of slavery at the national Capital. Nobody can read that slaves were once sold in the markets of Rome, beneath the eyes of the sovereign Pontiff, without confessing the scandal to religion, even in a barbarous age; and nobody can hear that slaves are now sold in the markets of Washington, beneath the eyes of the President, without confessing the scandal to liberal institutions. For the sake of our good name, if not for the sake of justice, let the scandal disappear.

Slavery, beginning in violence, can have no legal or constitutional existence, unless through positive words expressly authorizing it. As no such positive words can be found in the Constitution, all legislation by Congress supporting slavery must be unconstitutional and void, while it is made still further impossible by positive words of prohibition guarding the liberty of every *person* within the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress. But the question is asked, Shall we vote money for this purpose? I cannot hesitate; and I place it at once under the sanction of that commanding charity proclaimed by prophets and enjoined by apostles, which all history recognizes and which the Constitution cannot impair. From time immemorial every government has undertaken to ransom its subjects from captivity,—and sometimes a whole people has felt its resources well bestowed in the ransom of its prince. Religion and humanity have both concurred in this duty, as more than usually sacred. “The ransom of captives is a great and exalting office of justice,” exclaims one of the early fathers. The power thus commended has been exercised by the United

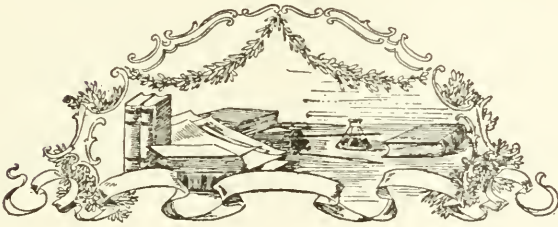
States under important circumstances with the coöperation of the best names of our history, so as to be without question.

If slavery be unconstitutional in the national Capital, and if it be a Christian duty, sustained by constitutional examples, to ransom slaves, then your swift desires cannot hesitate to adopt the present bill, and it becomes needless to enter upon other questions, important perhaps, but irrelevant.

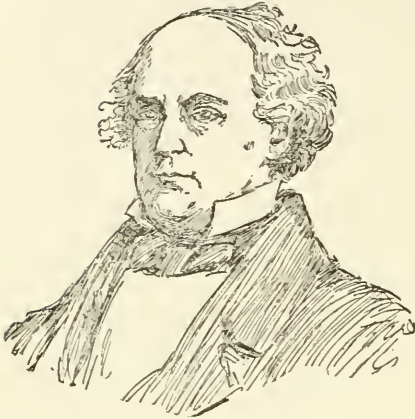
Of course, I scorn to argue the obvious truth that the slaves here are as much entitled to freedom as the white slaves that enlisted the early energies of our Government. They are *men* by the grace of God, and this is enough. There is no principle of the Constitution, and no rule of justice, which is not as strong for the one as for the other. In consenting to the ransom proposed, you will recognize their manhood, and, if authority be needed, you will find it in the example of Washington, who did not hesitate to employ a golden key to open the house of bondage.

Let this bill pass, and the first practical triumph of freedom, for which good men have longed, dying without the sight—for which a whole generation has petitioned, and for which orators and statesmen have pleaded—will at last be accomplished. Slavery will be banished from the national Capital. This metropolis, which bears a venerated name, will be purified; its evil spirit will be cast out; its shame will be removed; its society will be refined; its courts will be made better; its revolting ordinances will be swept away; and even its loyalty will be secured. If not moved by justice to the slave, then be willing to act for your own good and in self-defence. If you hesitate to pass this bill for the blacks, then pass it for the whites. Nothing is clearer than that the degradation of slavery affects the master as much as the slave; while recent events testify, that wherever slavery exists, there treason lurks, if it does not flaunt. From the beginning of this rebellion, slavery has been constantly manifest in the conduct of the masters, and even here in the national Capital, it has been the traitorous power which has encouraged and strengthened the enemy. This power must be suppressed at every cost, and if its suppression here endangers slavery elsewhere, there will be a new motive for determined action.

Amidst all present solitudes the future cannot be doubtful. At the national Capital slavery will give way to freedom ; but the good work will not stop here. It must proceed. What God and nature decree rebellion cannot arrest. And as the whole wide-spreading tyranny begins to tumble, then, above the din of battle, sounding from the sea and echoing along the land, above even the exultations of victory on well-fought fields, will ascend voices of gladness and benediction, swelling from generous hearts wherever civilization bears sway, to commemorate a sacred triumph whose trophies, instead of tattered banners, will be ransomed slaves.—C. SUMNER.



## SALMON P. CHASE.



AMONG the early political opponents of slavery Salmon P. Chase held a foremost place. He helped to form the Liberty Party, assisted the Free Soil movement, then joined in organizing the Republican Party, and by it was raised to high offices in the State and nation. Though he reached the highest judicial position, he was disappointed that

he was not awarded the highest executive place.

Salmon Portland Chase was born at Cornish, New Hampshire, on the 13th of January, 1808. He was descended from Aquila Chase, who emigrated from England to Massachusetts in 1640. When Salmon was eight years old, the family moved to Keene, New Hampshire, where his father died the next year. Thereafter this son was cared for by his uncle, Bishop Philander Chase, then residing in Ohio. When fifteen years old, he returned to New Hampshire, and entered Dartmouth College, from which he graduated in 1826. Having an uncle a senator from Vermont, he went to Washington, hoping to obtain employment under the Government. When his uncle disapproved this plan, he opened a school, and also studied law with William Wirt. After being admitted to the bar, he removed to Cincinnati in 1829, and there engaged in practice, meantime preparing an edition of the Statutes of Ohio.



Although the business community of Cincinnati was pro-slavery, Chase soon took a determined stand in the defence of fugitive slaves. In 1837, on behalf of a negro woman who had been brought by her master to Cincinnati on his way to Missouri, and had attempted to escape, he argued that a slave brought by his owner into a free State thereby became free, and could not be reclaimed under the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793. Though the case was decided against him, his argument made a strong impression. Seeking to restrain the growth of slavery, he joined with others in forming the Liberty Party in 1841, and he prepared its "Address to the People of the United States." In 1846 he was associated with W. H. Seward in pleading before the United States Supreme Court the case of John Van Zandt, who had assisted some fugitive slaves in escaping. Their efforts to have the Fugitive Slave Law declared unconstitutional were unsuccessful.

In 1849 Chase was elected to the United States Senate by a combination of Free Soilers and Democrats, similar to that which sent Sumner to the Senate from Massachusetts. He opposed Clay's compromise measures, and afterwards resisted the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He was an early advocate of a Homestead Law, opening the national domain to actual settlers, and of the construction of a railroad to the Pacific. Chase assisted in forming the Republican Party, and in 1855 he was made its candidate for the governorship of Ohio. By successive elections, he held that position until 1860. At the Republican Convention in that year Chase was a candidate for the presidential nomination, but his friends on the third ballot gave their votes to Lincoln. Chase was again sent to the Senate, but, on the day after taking his seat, was appointed by President Lincoln Secretary of the Treasury. The time was critical, for the treasury was practically empty, and enormous demands were soon made upon it for the maintenance of a vast army and navy and their complicated movements. New systems of finance had speedily to be devised and new methods found to make available the resources of the nation. Vigorous measures were required and prompt decision was indispensable. The patriotism of the people and their representatives in Congress steadily

supported his efforts and willingly submitted to the burdens he was obliged to recommend for the prosecution of the war. Besides successive series of bonds of varying terms, the most important feature of his policy was the issue of the greenbacks, as the United States notes have since been called. He also introduced the national bank system, which almost entirely superseded the old State banks.

Great as were his labors and services to his country in his department, Chase wished for more radical measures than were approved by President Lincoln. This feeling grew stronger as trying times passed on, and he not only chafed under the yoke, but countenanced opposition to his chief. Finally a difficulty about the appointment of a subordinate induced Secretary Chase to resign, and he was surprised to find his resignation promptly accepted. Yet shortly afterward Lincoln testified his high regard for Chase's ability by appointing him Chief-Justice of the United States.

Chase was undeniably well qualified for this high position by mental and moral endowments. The most remarkable scene in his judicial career was when he was called, according to the Constitution, to preside over the Senate during the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson. In the opinion of all unprejudiced observers he discharged the duties of that novel position in a spirit of the strictest impartiality. His dignity impressed itself on the whole conduct of that trial, and compelled those who participated in it to realize constantly the solemnity of the occasion. Although the President had by his course highly offended the Republican Party, and though that party had a decided majority in the Senate, five of their number joined with the Democrats in voting to acquit him, and thus reduced the number who condemned him to one less than the necessary two-thirds.

Another remarkable event of Chief-Justice Chase's career was his decision that the constitutional limits had been overstepped when the greenbacks which he, as Secretary of the Treasury, had devised and issued, had been declared a legal tender for all debts. This opinion was supported by a majority of the court, but at a later period was reversed. In other respects Chief-Justice Chase disapproved the later acts

of the Republican Party, being especially averse to military rule in the South. In 1870 he was detained by his judicial duties in Washington till the end of June. He then took a trip to the Northwest, and while returning was stricken with paralysis. He was thenceforth an invalid, though he recovered sufficiently to resume his seat on the bench. He died at New York on the 7th of May, 1873.

Salmon P. Chase was a man of commanding presence and splendid physique, but years of constant and severe labor undermined his strength. He was unduly disposed to worry over the bad management of public affairs by others. His firm belief in his own intellectual and executive ability made him too anxious to attain the presidency, an ambition which has injured some of the greatest Americans.

#### THE IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

[Soon after the Thirty-ninth Congress met in December, 1865, having a large Republican majority in both branches, it refused to recognize elections held in the Southern States in accordance with President Johnson's proclamation restoring them to their place in the Union, passed acts over his veto on behalf of the freedmen, and proposed the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. In 1867 it passed over the President's veto a bill for the government of the South as military districts. Generals Sheridan, Sickles and Pope were assigned by the President to the command of these districts. Congress on the same day passed a "Tenure of Office" act, restraining the President from removing principal officers without the consent of the Senate, which was required in their appointment. The President, however, removed Secretary Stanton and assigned the War Department to General Grant. When the Senate met, it overruled the deposition of Stanton, and General Grant at once retired in his favor. President Johnson again issued an order removing Secretary Stanton and appointing Adjutant-General L. Thomas in his place, but Stanton would not yield the place. The President held that Stanton was merely a hold-over from Lincoln's cabinet, and therefore removable.

In consequence of these differences and the President's strong language in denunciation of Congress, the House of Representatives resolved on February 24, 1868 (by 126 yeas to 47 nays), that the President be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors. The eleven articles of impeachment were agreed to by the House on March 3d. They specified his removal of Secretary Stanton, his publicly expressed contempt for the Thirty-ninth Congress as a Congress of only part of the States, and his obstruction of the execution of its

measures. They were presented to the Senate on the 5th of March, and the trial began on the 23d. According to the Constitution, Chief Justice Chase presided. The managers appointed by the House from its own members were Thaddeus Stevens, B. F. Butler, John A. Bingham, George S. Boutwell, J. F. Wilson, T. Williams and John A. Logan. The counsel for the President were Attorney-General Henry Stanbery, Benjamin R. Curtis, Jeremiah S. Black, William M. Evarts, and T. A. R. Nelson. The Chief-Justice claimed and exercised at the outset the right to give a casting vote.

After several sessions in which eloquent and powerful speeches were made on both sides, a test vote was had on May 16th, on the eleventh article, which was considered the strongest. The result was, for conviction, 35 Senators; for acquittal, 19 Senators, of whom 14 were Democrats and 5 Republicans. As the Constitution requires a two-thirds vote to convict, the result was acquittal on this article. On May 26th, a vote was taken on the first and second articles, with the same result. It being evident that conviction could not be obtained, the Court of Impeachment adjourned *sine die*.]

The first political impeachment in our constitutional history, involving, as it did, the accusation of the President of the United States, required the Chief-Justice to preside at the trial before the Senate, creating thus the tribunal to which the Constitution had assigned this high jurisdiction. Beyond the injunction that the Senate, when sitting for the trial of impeachments, should be "on oath," the Constitution gave no instruction to fix or ascertain the character of the procedure, the nature of the duty assigned to the specially-organized court, or the distribution of authority between the Chief-Justice and the Senate.

The situation lacked no feature of gravity—no circumstance of solicitude—and the attention of the whole country, and of foreign nations, watched the transaction at every stage of its progress. No circumstances could present a greater disparity of political or popular forces between accuser and accused, and none could be imagined of more thorough commitment of the body of the court—the Senate—both in the interests of its members, in their political feeling, and their pre-judgments; all tending to make the condemnation of the President, upon all superficial calculations, inevitable. The effort of the Constitution to guard against mere partisan judgment, by requiring a two-thirds vote to convict, was paralyzed by the com-

plexion of the Senate, showing more than four-fifths of that body of the party which had instituted the impeachment and was demanding conviction. To this party, as well, the Chief-Justice belonged, as a founder, a leader, a recipient of its honors, and a lover of its prosperity and its fame. The President, raised to the office from that of Vice-President—to which alone he had been elected—by the deplored event of Mr. Lincoln's assassination, was absolutely without a party, in the Senate or in the country; for the party whose suffrages he had received for the vice-presidency was the hostile force in his impeachment. And, to bring the matter to the worst, the succession to all the executive power and patronage of the Government, in case of conviction, was to fall into the administration of the President of the Senate—the creature, thus, of the very court invested with the duty of trial and the power of conviction.

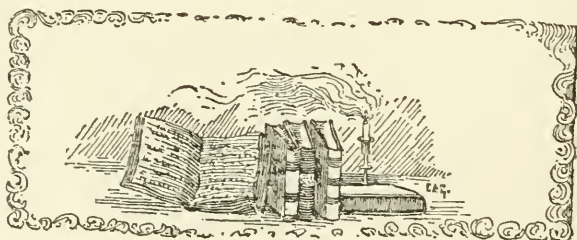
Against all these immense influences, confirmed and inflamed by a storm of party violence, beating against the Senate-house without abatement through the trial, the President was acquitted. To what wise or fortunate protection of the stability of government does the people of this country owe its escape from this great peril? Solely, I cannot hesitate to think, to the potency—with a justice-loving, law-respecting people—of the few decisive words of the Constitution which, to the common apprehension, had impressed upon the transaction the solemn character of trial and conviction, under the sanction of the oath to bind the conscience, and not of the mere exercise of power, of which its will should be its reason. In short, the Constitution had made the procedure *judicial*, and not *political*. It was this sacred interposition that stayed this plague of political resentments which, with their less sober and intelligent populations, have thwarted so many struggles for free government and equal institutions.

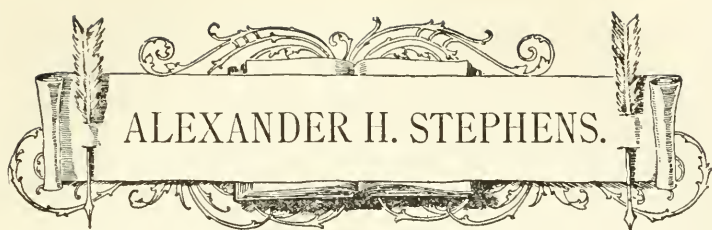
Over this scene, through all its long agitations, the Chief-Justice presided, with firmness and prudence, with circumspect comprehension, and sagacious forecast of the vast consequences which hung, not upon the result of the trial as affecting any personal fortunes of the President, but upon the maintenance



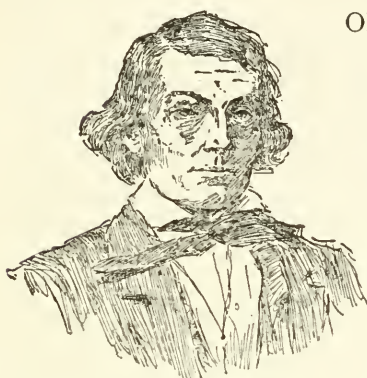
of its character as a trial—upon the prevalence of law, and the supremacy of justice, in its methods of procedure, in the grounds and reasons of its conclusion. That his authority was greatly influential in fixing the true constitutional relations of the Chief-Justice to the Senate, and establishing a precedent of procedure not easily to be subverted; that it was felt, throughout the trial, with persuasive force, in the maintenance of the judicial nature of the transaction, and that it never went a step beyond the office which belonged to him—of presiding over the Senate trying an impeachment—is not to be doubted.

The President was acquitted. The disappointment of the political calculations which had been made upon what was felt by the partisans of impeachment to be an assured result, was unbounded; and resentments, rash and unreasoning, were visited upon the Chief-Justice, who had influenced the Senate to be judicial, and had not himself been political. No doubt, this impeachment trial permanently affected the disposition of the leading managers of the Republican Party toward the Chief-Justice, and his attitude thereafter toward that party, in his character of a citizen. But the people of the country never assumed any share of the resentment of party feeling. The charge against him, if it had any shape or substance, came only to this: that the Chief-Justice brought into the Senate, under his judicial robes, no concealed weapons of party warfare, and that he had not plucked from the Bible, on which he took and administered the judicial oath, the commandment for its observance.—W. M. EVARTS.





## ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.



ONE of the most singular figures in American history was the Southern statesman, A. H. Stephens. Of puny, sickly frame, he yet, by sheer force or intellect, held his own in the great contest which rent the Union in twain, and after being Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy returned to take prominent part in legislation for the restored Union,

to which he cheerfully renewed his fealty.

Alexander Hamilton Stephens was born near Crawfordsville, Georgia, on the 11th of February, 1812. He was descended from an Englishman who, having been an adherent of the Pretender, came to America in 1746, served as captain in the Revolutionary army, and afterwards settled in Georgia. Alexander was early left an orphan, but on account of his promising talent was sent to Franklin College by friends to be educated for the Presbyterian ministry. He graduated in 1832 with the first honor, and having determined to study law, he earned money by teaching to repay his college expenses. After being admitted to the bar he quickly won competence and reputation.

In 1836 he was elected to the State legislature and showed a liberal spirit in securing appropriations for railroads and for Mason Female College, the first established for the classical education of women. In 1843 he was elected to Congress on a general State ticket, but did not hesitate to support an act requiring the States to be divided into Congress-

ional districts. He became a leader of the Southern Whigs, and advocated the annexation of Texas by Congressional action. He supported Henry Clay for the presidency in 1844, and opposed the policy of President Polk in regard to the Mexican War. In 1848, in consequence of a political dispute, Stephens recklessly engaged in a personal encounter with Judge Cone at a hotel in Atlanta and was severely cut in the right hand. Stephens assisted in securing the election of Zachary Taylor as President in 1848. Secession was first strongly advocated in the South in 1850, but Stephens set himself sternly in opposition, and drew up the "Georgia platform," which declared "the American Union secondary in importance only to the rights and principles it was designed to perpetuate." In 1852, General Winfield Scott, the Whig candidate for President, refused to endorse this platform, and Stephens, with other Southern Whigs, issued a card withdrawing from him their support.

In 1854 Stephens defended "popular sovereignty," as formulated by S. A. Douglas in the Kansas-Nebraska act. He aided in electing Buchanan to the presidency in 1856, though he had formerly been his antagonist. He soon found Buchanan's policy dangerous, and, like Douglas, sought to oppose it. Finding his opposition ineffectual and leading to misunderstanding among the Southern people, he resigned from Congress in 1859. Douglas was his choice for the presidency in 1860, yet when Lincoln was elected, he refused to regard that fact as a justification for Southern secession. Both before and after that election, Stephens' bold and eloquent advocacy of the Union, as guaranteeing all the constitutional rights of the Southern States, raised high hopes throughout the whole country that the secession would be defeated when brought directly to the decision of the people. His Union speech of November 14th, 1860, seemed to assure his continued resistance to the secession of Georgia. Yet when the State Convention adopted the ordinance of secession, Stephens at once yielded obedience, and his declaration to that effect caused him immediately to be chosen Vice-President of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States.

The heartiness of his support of the Confederacy was shown

in his speech of March 21, 1861, in which he declared slavery to be the corner-stone of the new government. During the war, Stephens had but little opportunity for action or expression of opinion. Yet his view of State rights set him in opposition to President Davis. In Georgia in 1864, there was a peace movement which finally led to a Peace Commission, of which Stephens was a member, being appointed by the Confederate government. A conference was held with President Lincoln and Secretary Seward at Hampton Roads in February, 1865, but as the Commission was not authorized to grant the terms which Lincoln laid down as preliminary, it came to naught. When the Confederacy was overthrown, Stephens was arrested at his home, Liberty Hall. He was confined for six months in Fort Warren, in Boston harbor, but in October, 1865, was released on parole.

Stephens at once set to work to heal the breaches caused by the great national struggle. He was soon elected to the United States Senate by the Georgia legislature under the proclamation issued by President Andrew Johnson, but Congress refused to recognize the validity of the President's act apart from previous legislation. Stephens employed his leisure in the preparation of his history of "The War Between the States" (2 vols., 1867-70). He then compiled a "School History of the United States" (1871). Though defeated in an attempt to secure a seat in the Senate in 1871, he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1874, and continued to serve till 1882, when he resigned. Throughout his term he was severely crippled by rheumatism, being obliged to use crutches, and later to be moved in a wheel-chair. Yet the people of Georgia had confidence in the veteran statesman, and elected him governor by 60,000 majority. His last public speech was made at Savannah on the 12th of February, 1883, in the Georgia sesqui-centennial celebration.

Stephens was in person slender and boyish-looking. His voice was shrill and piping. He suffered from chronic illness, and weighed barely a hundred pounds. Yet he was always bold in expressing his opinions, and was disposed to take moderate views, which aroused antagonism from both extremes. He was generally on friendly terms with his political

opponents, and ready to acknowledge their merits on fitting occasions. His speech on the unveiling of Carpenter's painting, "The Signing of the Emancipation Proclamation," was a splendid tribute to the virtues of those statesmen who were concerned in that important measure. He died at Atlanta, Ga., March 4, 1883.

#### SLAVERY THE CORNER-STONE OF THE CONFEDERACY.

(From a Speech at Savannah, March 21, 1861.)

The new Constitution of the Confederate States has put at rest, *forever*, all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution—African slavery as it exists amongst us—the proper *status* of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this, as the "rock upon which the old Union would split." He was right. What was conjecture with him, is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock *stood* and *stands*, may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution, were that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in *principle*, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with, but the general opinion of the men of that day was that, somehow or other in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at that time. The Constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last, and hence no argument can be justly urged against the constitutional guarantees thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the government built upon it fell when the "storm came and the wind blew."

Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon



the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man ; that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition.

This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science. It has been so even amongst us. Many who hear me, perhaps, can recollect well, that this truth was not generally admitted, even within their day. The errors of the past generation still clung to many as late as twenty years ago. Those at the North, who still cling to these errors, with a zeal above knowledge, we justly denominate fanatics. They assume that the negro is equal, and hence conclude that he is entitled to equal privileges and rights with the white man. If their premises were correct, their conclusions would be logical and just—but their premises being wrong, their whole argument fails.

I recollect once of having heard a gentleman from one of the Northern States, of great power and ability, announce in the House of Representatives, with imposing effect, that we of the South would be compelled, ultimately, to yield upon this subject of slavery, that it was as impossible to war successfully against a principle in politics, as it was in physics or mechanics ; that the principle would ultimately prevail ; That we, in maintaining slavery as it exists with us, were warring against a principle, a principle founded in nature, the principle of the equality of men. The reply I made to him was, that, upon his own grounds, we should ultimately succeed, and that he and his associates, in this crusade against our institutions, would ultimately fail. The truth announced, that it was as impossible to war successfully against a principle in politics as it was in physics and mechanics, I admitted ; but told him that it was he, and those acting with him, who were warring against a principle. They were attempting to make things equal which the Creator had made unequal.

Many governments have been founded upon the principle of the subordination and serfdom of certain classes of the same race ; such were and are in violation of the laws of

nature. Our system commits no such violation of nature's laws. With us, all of the white race, however high or low, rich or poor, are equal in the eye of the law. Not so with the negro. Subordination is his place. He, by nature, or by the curse against Canaan, is fitted for that condition which he occupies in our system. The architect, in the construction of buildings, lays the foundation with the proper material—the granite; then comes the brick or the marble. The substratum of our society is made of the material fitted by nature for it, and by experience we know that it is best, not only for the superior, but for the inferior race, that it should be so. It is, indeed, in conformity with the ordinance of the Creator. It is not for us to inquire into the wisdom of his ordinances, or to question them. For his own purposes, he has made one race to differ from another, as he has made “one star to differ from another star in glory.”

The great objects of humanity are best attained when there is conformity to his laws and decrees, in the formation of governments as well as in all things else. Our confederacy is founded upon principles in strict conformity with these laws. This stone which was rejected by the first builders “is become the chief of the corner”—the real “corner-stone”—in our new edifice.

I have been asked, What of the future? It has been apprehended by some that we would have arrayed against us the civilized world. I care not who or how many they may be against us, when we stand upon the eternal principles of truth, *if we are true to ourselves and the principles for which we contend*, we are obliged to, and must triumph.

—A. H. STEPHENS.

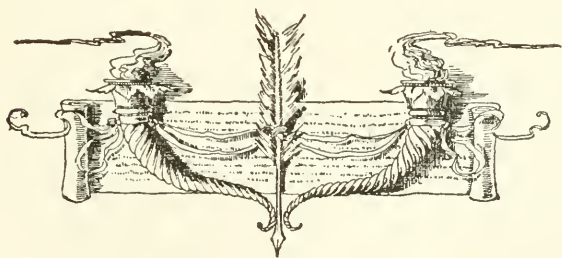
#### LIBERTY AND UNION.

(From an Address, February 12, 1878.)

During the conflict of arms I frequently almost despaired of the liberties of our country, both North and South. The Union of these States, at first, I always thought was founded upon the assumption that it was the best interest of all to remain united, faithfully performing, each for itself, its own constitutional obligations under the compact. When secession

was resorted to as a remedy, I went with my State, holding it my duty to do so, but believing, all the time, that if successful, when the passions of the hour and of the day were over, the great law which produced the Union at first, "mutual interest and reciprocal advantage," would reassert itself, and that at no distant day a new Union of some sort would again be formed.

And now, after the severe chastisement of war, if the general sense of the whole country shall come back to the acknowledgment of the original assumption, that it is for the best interests of all the States to be so united, as I trust it will, the States being "separate as the billows, but one as the sea," this thorn in the body-politic being now removed, I can perceive no reason why, under such a restoration, the flag no longer waving over provinces, but States, we, as a whole, with peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations and entangling alliances with none, may not enter upon a new career, exciting increased wonder in the Old World, by grander achievements hereafter to be made, than any heretofore attained, by the peaceful and harmonious workings of our matchless system of American federal institutions of self-government.—A. H. STEPHENS.



## NAPOLEON III.



THE life of Louis Napoleon, or Napoleon III., is one of those romances which are stranger than fiction. His was a rugged path, from exile and captivity to the splendor of the Tuileries, and from the Tuileries back to captivity and exile again.

Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was born in Paris, April 20, 1808. His father was Louis Bonaparte, a bro-

ther of Napoleon I., who was made King of Holland in 1806, but after the battle of Waterloo he lived a secluded life at Florence, where he died in 1846. His mother was Hortense Beauharnais, daughter of Viscount Beauharnais and Josephine (afterwards Empress of the French); she died in Switzerland in 1837. Louis was born in the midst of courtly splendor, at the time when his uncle, Napoleon I., was at the zenith of his power and glory. At his baptism, which took place when he was nearly three years old, his uncle and Marie Louise acted as godparents. His parents had seldom been on good terms and had already separated. His early years were spent in Paris, between the Rue Lafitte and the Tuileries. On the first restoration of the Bourbons the Bonapartes were allowed to remain in France; but on the second, in 1815, all persons, young and old, in any way related to Napoleon by ties of blood, received sentence of banishment. Hortense retired





A. CARPNE 1855

*NAPOLEON III.*





to Switzerland, and lived in the chateau of Arenenberg, near Lake Constance. Augsburg, in South Germany, was the place chosen for the education of her son. Here he showed a considerable aptitude for scientific study, chemistry and physics. He also learned Greek and Latin as well as modern languages. Nor did he neglect athletic exercises, but made himself expert in fencing, riding, and swimming. He took service as an artillery volunteer in the Swiss camp of Thun.

The revolution of 1830, and the insurrectionary movements throughout Europe, inspired Louis and his elder brother to join the Carbonari, who had revolted against the Pope's rule in Romagna. But the Austrian forces were again victorious; the Italians were compelled to fall back, first upon Forlì, and then upon Ancona. The elder brother died at Forlì from congestion of the lungs, brought on by the fatigue and exposure of the campaign, and Louis was stricken down with fever at Ancona. As soon as Hortense heard of the death of her elder son, and the danger of the younger, she hastened to Ancona. Concealing her terror, she caused a report to be spread that Louis Napoleon had fled to Greece; and, although lodging within a few yards of the commander of the Austrian forces, managed to nurse her son through a fever, and by means of a disguise and an English passport, conveyed him through the Austrian troops safely to Paris. Here they were not permitted to stay beyond twelve days, as the decree of banishment was still in full force. They proceeded to London, where for some weeks Louis made a study of the institutions and industrial establishments, and then returned to the hospitable canton of Thurgovia, in Switzerland.

Louis in early manhood was studious, thoughtful and ambitious, and inclined to form political theories born of the stirring events of the time. He had been offered the crown of Poland if he would place himself at the head of the Polish insurrection, and would have joined that desperate cause, had he not heard of the capture of Warsaw. He applied to Louis Philippe for leave to serve his country as a citizen of France, but his application was ignored. Then

he fell back on his studies, and under the title, "Political Reveries," made a rough draft of the ideas which he elaborated in later works. An essay on "Switzerland as a Military Power," gained for him the rank of a captain of artillery at Bern.

After the death of the Duke of Reichstadt, the only son of Napoleon I., Louis Napoleon, now heir prospective of his uncle, believed that he was destined to overthrow the government of Louis Philippe, and reign in his stead. With this idea he organized the "Strasburg Attempt." In the autumn of 1836, while residing at Baden-Baden with his aunt, the Grand-duchess Stephanie, he was accustomed to ride out as far as Stollhausen and Bischofsheim, under the pretext of shooting. His adherents from Strasburg would ride across too, and their meeting appeared to happen quite naturally. Having arranged preliminaries with Colonel Vambéry and other officers, he presented himself at the quarters of the Fourth artillery regiment, where he was enthusiastically received; but at the infantry barracks his attempt proved a complete failure. He was arrested, but released without trial by the orders of Louis Philippe, and sent off to Rio Janeiro, whence he made his way to New York.

In the next year he received a letter saying that his mother was dangerously ill, and returned to the Swiss chateau in time to see her before her death. As he continued his stay in Switzerland, the French ministry demanded his expulsion. The Swiss government declined, and matters became so much complicated that, to save further trouble, Louis voluntarily retired to London, where he lived for the next two years in a fine mansion.

While in London he was much in fashionable society, and well known in sporting and gambling circles. His romantic history and imperial pretensions made him an object of interest to the public. Although he was far from indifferent to the amusements of society, his time was not wholly devoted to them. In the autumn of 1839 he published the "*Idées Napoléoniennes*," in which he defended his uncle's administration and foreign policy, and charged the English and other governments with having forced upon

him the wars of conquest on account of his efforts to extend civilization. The work was intended to pave the way for the overthrow of Louis Philippe.

The overt attempt was made, when the remains of the great Napoleon were on their way from St. Helena to Paris. About sunrise on August 6th, Louis Napoleon, with a suite of fifty persons, landed at Boulogne, and repaired to the barracks. When calling the soldiers toward them, Persigny suddenly let loose a tame eagle which, after hovering round the prince, alighted on his head. At this the soldiers sent up a shout of "Vive l'Empereur!" But Colonel Puygnellier, who was wholly incorruptible, came quickly on the scene. One of the prince's party threatened to shoot the colonel. "Murder me if you like," said Puygnellier, "but I will do my duty to the last." The only concession the prince could obtain was to leave the barracks unpursued, and be left to the mercy of the city authorities. They had hardly reached the shore when the National Guard commenced firing on them. Within a few hours all of the party, who were not shot or drowned in trying to escape, were in prison. The failure was even more complete than at Strasburg. Louis was tried and condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a continental fortress of France. It is stated that when Cauchy read the sentence, the prince replied: "That is sad, but I have one consolation; it was once said that the word *impossible* was not French, now the same may be said of the word *perpetual*." Montholon, Persigny, Parquin and others were each sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. Montholon obtained the privilege of sharing the captivity of his master, and the same permission was granted to his valet, Th  lin.

Louis Napoleon bore his imprisonment with exemplary fortitude, and found relief in study. To a lady of his acquaintance he wrote: "I do not wish to change my abode; I must live either in the gloom of a dungeon or in the light of power." But as time wore on, with its hopeless uniformity, its weight pressed heavily on the captive. The illness of his father at Florence gave him an opportunity for asking leave on parole from the French government. This leave would have been granted if the prince had chosen to ask

pardon loyally. This he would not do, and forthwith began to turn his thoughts toward a project of escape. The governor had employed workmen to repair the prison staircase. Napoleon procured a workman's blouse, well-worn trousers and wooden shoes. He shaved off his moustache, donned a black wig, and with a clay pipe in his mouth, his metamorphosis was complete. His faithful attendant, Théliu, called the workmen into the dining-room to drink, and Napoleon, with a plank on his shoulder, walked out of the fortress of Ham, passing wicket after wicket without detection. He took the route towards St. Quentin, and was a little way out of town when Théliu overtook him with a cabriolet he had ordered the preceding evening. By means of an Englishman's passport they succeeded in crossing the frontier to Brussels, thence to Ostend, from which they sailed to London.

Louis Napoleon was again in the fashionable world, living in the aristocratic neighborhood of St. James. He acted as a special constable during the Chartist riots in the early part of 1848. In the same year, when Louis Philippe lost his throne, Louis Napoleon promptly offered his services to the provisional government; but they were declined, and he was requested to quit France without delay. His name was kept well before the public by his adherents, and in the general elections he was chosen for the assembly in four separate constituencies, and after considerable wrangling among the leaders of the several parties, took his seat for Paris in September. His purposes were impenetrable, but his manners were attractive, and his sentiments beyond expectation. Within four months he was elected President of France for four years by an overwhelming majority; having received upwards of 5,000,000 votes, while his five competitors did not aggregate 2,000,000.

On taking the oath as president, Louis Napoleon swore in the presence of God, and the French nation, as represented by the assembly, to remain faithful to the Republic and to fulfill all the duties imposed upon him by the Constitution. He then declared that the voice of the nation and the oath he had taken should rule his future conduct. After he had finished his speech, the Constituent Assembly shouted, "*Vive*



*la République!*” The president and the assembly were enemies from the beginning, and between them many reactionary measures were passed, and also many beneficent, the results of which were soon apparent in returning prosperity.

Two years had passed when the president determined to rid himself of his enemies, without regard to the Constitution. By the autumn of 1851, all the details of the *coup d'état* were carefully arranged. His associates were De Morny, Maupas, Persigny, Fleury, and General St. Arnaud. These five plotted the *coup d'état*, and kept their own counsel. Everything went on as usual. On December 1, 1851, the assembly was engaged in discussing the project of a railroad to Lyons; that evening the Duc de Morny was at the opera in company with Changarnier, and the prince-president was doing the honors of the Elysée as calmly and courteously as usual. Before morning every man who had been in any way prominent in politics since the days of Louis Philippe was under arrest; and the Parisians read from official placards that the assembly was dissolved, universal suffrage restored, and a general election decreed for December 14th.

France found itself at the mercy of Louis Napoleon and an army of half a million. When the citizens of the faubourgs erected a few barracks, the soldiers fired without warning, while the streets were thronged with unsuspecting and peaceable citizens. It was necessary to follow up this by an appeal to the people; but Louis Napoleon had just made extensive tours through the provinces, where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm as the representative of order and law. The people accepted his acts as a demonstration against Red Republicanism; and after endorsing a proposal of a legislature composed of two chambers, and a cabinet appointed by the president alone, voted him president for ten years.

The *plébiscite* was the great political panacea of Louis Napoleon. It was simply a universal vote of Yes or No, in answer to some question put by the government. In 1852 the question as to whether the prince-president should assume the title of emperor was submitted to a *plébiscite*, and according to official returns nearly 8,000,000 citizens voted in the affirm-

ative. The emperor declared that his policy was peace, and he soon formed an alliance with England.

The emperor's next step was to insure his dynasty by marriage. His choice fell on Mademoiselle Eugenie de Montijo, Countess of Téba, a lady connected with noble families of Portugal and Spain, but noted for her beauty rather than wealth or high estate. She was, according to Queen Victoria, "of perfect manners, gentle, graceful and kind, modest and retiring withal." The marriage took place on the 30th of January, 1853. In 1854 Napoleon joined with England in declaring war against Russia. The war was waged chiefly in the Crimea, and though Sebastopol was stubbornly defended, it was finally surrendered. The Czar Nicholas died in March, 1856, and his successor, Alexander II., sought terms of peace. The military prestige of France was now restored. The first years of Napoleon's reign were successful beyond expectation. The splendor of the court, vast public improvements, and material prosperity seemed to reconcile the people to their loss of liberty.

In 1859, for further establishment of military glory, so dear to the French, the emperor led a large army into Italy and speedily inflicted a crushing defeat on the Austrians at Magenta and Solferino. The outcome of this was, that Lombardy was ceded to the King of Sardinia, Venetia was left to Austria, while Nice and Savoy were transferred to France as compensation for its aid to Sardinia. This service to Italy, though material and having results which Napoleon had not anticipated on its account, yet did not satisfy the Italians, who found other means to realize their hopes of unification of the peninsula. But Napoleon disliked to interfere with the States of the Church. His wish was to form an Italian federation with the Pope at its head. England felt some apprehension when France was enlarged, but was soon reconciled when Napoleon, under the influence of Cobden, made a new treaty in January, 1860, granting freedom of trade.

During the civil war in America, the sympathy of Napoleon III. was with the Southern Confederacy, but he refrained from any direct participation. He took the opportunity, however, to enforce claims on Mexico, and, to obtain settlement of

them, sent an army under Marshal Bazaine. The liberal government of Juarez was driven into hiding, and the crown of Mexico was offered to and accepted by the unfortunate Archduke Maximilian, of Austria. But when the United States, in 1866, intimated that no European power could be permitted to support a monarchy in America, the French troops were withdrawn and Maximilian was left to his fate.

Meantime, amid all his foreign wars and schemes, Napoleon had still sought to make Paris the most attractive capital of the world. For many years the whole civilized world was entertained by its brilliancy and gayety. But the more solid advance of Prussia among the great powers of Europe, and the way in which Napoleon had been duped by Bismarck, called forth energetic criticism. The French people began to be restless and uneasy, and showed increasing discontent with the despotism of the empire. Napoleon was aware of the turn of the tide, and made concessions to the press and the Liberals. But while he succeeded in winning the support of a few individuals, he could not revive his waning popularity. He felt that at the very time when disease was sapping his bodily strength, his dynasty was in jeopardy, and the army was slipping from his grasp. Though the pretext was of the slightest, he resolved on war with Prussia, the country which had for half a century under wise rulers been steadily recovering from the humiliation inflicted by his uncle and outstripping its rivals in the elements of power. It was to be a "war of glory," though France and its leaders, both civil and military, as well as its army, were ill-prepared.

Deceived by the assurances of the creatures about him, and remembering his former successes in the field, the emperor entered on the fatal conflict "with a light heart." The magnificent discipline of the Prussians, their thorough preparation and equipment, the strategy of their generals, and the valor of their troops, which included all the Germans except Austria, prevented Napoleon from emerging from his own territory. He was obliged to fight on the defensive, and though his troops displayed valor, they were no match for the redoubtable Germans. His overwhelming defeat at Sedan made him the prisoner of King William, who soon after-

ward became the German emperor. Napoleon was transferred to the palace of Wilhelmshöhe. Though the war still proceeded, France had no further use for Napoleon III.

When peace was concluded he retired to England, where his wife had already sought refuge, and resided at Chiselmhurst. His health had been seriously broken before the war, and in the intervals of strength he seemed to employ his time in writing pamphlets in defence of his policy. Some attempts were made by his friends to regain his power; but the current of events was too strong for them. On January 9, 1873, he died, after undergoing a painful operation for the removal of calculus. The good that he had done was interred with his bones; the evil lived after him.

#### THE COUP D'ÉTAT.

On Monday evening, December 1, 1851, a gay and elegant assemblage occupied the gilded salons of the palace of the Elysée. It was one of the weekly receptions which the President of the Republic gave to the fashionable world of Paris. He himself, on that occasion, mingled among the throng with the same air of self-possessed and quiet ease which usually characterized him. At midnight the company disappeared, and the president withdrew to his secret cabinet. He was accompanied only by M. Mocquard, his private secretary. In a short time three persons were admitted. These were M. de Persigny, General St. Arnaud and M. de Morny, an illegitimate son of Queen Hortense. These were the three chief confederates of the president in the planning and execution of the *coup d'état*. This was their last conference before the blow was struck. Some important details yet remained to be completed during the hours of that night, which were entrusted to their hands. After some consultation, the prince opened the drawer of a bureau, and gave to each of his chief accomplices a sealed packet. These packets contained their last written instructions. Then shaking each one by the hand, he dismissed them to their respective posts of duty.

M. de Bévillé, an orderly sergeant of the President, proceeded in a carriage at one o'clock to the government printing-office, superintended by M. Georges. He had previously

informed Georges that some important work was to be done that night, and had instructed him to have his workmen in their places. The manuscript proclamations were immediately put into their hands, and in an hour the printing was completed. Meanwhile, however, the printing-office had been quietly surrounded by a guard, the doors locked, and no one permitted to leave until next morning. Bévillé then distributed the proclamations to trusty posters, employed by M. Maupas, the Chief of Police, for that purpose. In an hour every prominent place in the capital was plastered over with proclamations. One of these was a decree which announced that the National Assembly was dissolved, that universal suffrage was re-established, that the Council of State was dismissed, that the first military division was placed in a state of siege, and that the French people were convoked for their votes from the 14th to the 21st of December. Another proclamation was addressed to the army, which was well adapted to win their adhesion to the cause of the usurper. The third proclamation was addressed to the nation, in which the President set forth the anarchy and imbecility of the government, resulting from the hostility of the Assembly; made an appeal to the voice of the entire nation; invited them to vote upon the question of a "responsible chief for ten years;" ministers to be dependent on the Executive, and a legislative assembly to be composed of two branches, the one to counterbalance the other. Every Frenchman who was entitled to vote was called upon to decide whether the authority of the President should be continued; and the polls were to remain open during eight days.

When the Parisians awoke in the morning, they found these proclamations staring them in the face from every corner of the street. But while this part of the conspiracy was thus completed, other and more difficult portions of it were being admirably executed. The Chief of Police, M. de Maupas, distributed a proclamation of his own, directing that all good citizens should assist in preserving order, and declaring that every violation of the public peace should be severely punished. During the early hours of the morning of the second of December, before the darkness had given place to the dawn,



large bodies of troops were quietly entering the capital from every direction, and were taking the positions respectively assigned them, on the Boulevards, the Quay d'Orsay, the Carrousel, the Garden of the Tuileries, the Place Concorde, and the Champs Elysées. At three o'clock in the morning, General Magnan, the commander-in-chief of the Army of Paris, having received his secret orders from the President, had transmitted them to his subordinates; and these dispositions had been made in accordance with those instructions.

At four o'clock the office of the Minister of Police was filled by secret and trusty agents, and by forty commissaries who had been notified to be in attendance at that time. They were placed in possession, separately, of warrants for the arrest of certain distinguished persons in the capital. The ringing of a small bell summoned them successively into the inner cabinet of the chief, who gave them their instructions, and then dismissed them. Each one was accompanied by fifteen or twenty soldiers; he was ordered to make the arrest entrusted to him precisely at five minutes after six o'clock; and detachments of troops were stationed in the vicinity of the house of each captive, to protect the agents of the government from the interference of the populace. Every arrest was made successfully, and without any public disturbance. Seventy-eight captures were thus executed at the same moment. Eighteen were influential members of the Assembly. The rest were distinguished generals, orators, leaders of secret societies, commanders of barricades and hostile editors. They were all conveyed by different routes to the prison called *Mazas*, situated in the southeastern part of Paris.

But all the details of the conspiracy had not yet been completed. At six o'clock in the morning M. Persigny, attended by the 42d regiment of the line, marched to the Hall of the National Assembly, and took possession of the courts around it. The soldiers then entered the Hall, occupied it, and arrested the questors who were in attendance. At the same time, M. de Morny, at the head of 250 chasseurs, invaded the Ministry of the Interior; assumed the functions of the chief of that office, who had been dismissed the night before; and

dictated a circular to be dispatched by telegraph to all the prefects of the departments of France.

Although the Hall of the Assembly was occupied by the troops, sixty representatives succeeded, early in the morning, in entering the building, one by one. They met together in one of the committee-rooms, and sent for M. Dupin, the president. He arrived, and a moment after the room was occupied by the military. M. Dupin then spoke, and protested in the name of the Assembly against the violent measures which were in progress; but turning to the representatives present, he told them that it was useless to attempt anything against force, and advised them to disperse. The representatives followed his suggestion, but they met again at the residence of M. Daru, one of the vice-presidents. Other fragments of the Assembly convened at different places, some at the house of M. Crémieux, and others in an obscure retreat in the faubourg St. Antoine.

These passed decrees charging Louis Napoleon with the crime of high treason, copies of which decrees were afterward distributed through Paris, and became the cause of some of the fatal collisions which took place on the succeeding Thursday. Another portion of the Assembly met at the Mayoralty of the Tenth Arrondissement. They scarcely amounted to one-third of the whole body. They voted the deposition of the President, the appointment of General Oudinot commander-in-chief of the parliamentary forces, and General Lauriston commander of the National Guard. Their dangerous proceedings were interrupted by the arrival of troops. They refused to disperse. They were consequently all arrested, and confined in the barracks of the Quay d'Orsay. They amounted to 221. Thus passed off the memorable second of December, the first day of the *coup d'état*.

Wednesday, the third of December, dawned. During the previous night, the hostile factions had not been idle. Appalled and astounded as they had been, by the suddenness, the mystery, and the simultaneous vigor of the blow which had prostrated at the same instant so many of the enemies of the President, they were not yet disheartened. They had held secret meetings at the Café Tortoni, at the Café de Paris, and

in the Italian Boulevards. Here the decrees of the fragments of the National Assembly were read and approved. The three great measures of the President on the first day of the movement had been so successfully and suddenly executed that resistance in order to be efficient must be deliberate. Those three measures were the arrest of dangerous persons; the occupation of the Hall of the Assembly; and the distribution of troops, to the number of fifty thousand, to all the necessary portions of the capital. Apprehensive of an impending conflict, the stores and shops remained closed during Wednesday; although the Boulevards were crowded with people. At three P.M., Louis Napoleon boldly rode with several attendants along the principal streets, and reviewed a division of cavalry in the Champs Elysées. In the evening the presidential palace was thrown open, and a general reception took place. The success of the *coup d'état* was now regarded as certain by the majority of the inhabitants of the capital, as was evinced by the large number of prominent personages who, on that occasion, tendered their services and allegiance to the President. Paris remained tranquil. The theatres were all crowded in the evening. Never had a more brilliant and splendid audience graced the Italian Opera. The capital seemed as much as ever the gay centre of the world's luxury, magnificence and vice. But Thursday, the great day of carnage and blood, was rapidly approaching.

Louis Napoleon, anticipating the coming danger, had prepared for it. The morning light revealed to the astonished Parisians, long and almost endless lines of soldiers drawn up on both sides of the Boulevards, and on all the great thoroughfares. The soldiers had been abundantly supplied with brandy before leaving their barracks; and they were disposed to be furious and bloody. The opposing factions had been at work, and this was the day upon which they resolved to try their strength. They had determined that France should not be surrendered to the usurper without a desperate struggle. The following appeal, among others, was posted on the Boulevards, signed by Victor Hugo: "Art. 68. The Constitution is entrusted to the protection and patriotism of the French citizens. Louis Napoleon is outlawed. The state of siege is abolished.

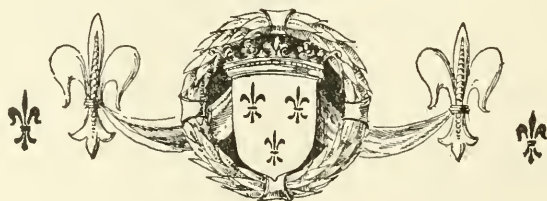
Universal suffrage is re-established. Vive la République. To arms! For the United Mountain."

Early in the morning, barricades were erected in many of the streets. They were attacked and taken by the troops with little difficulty. At one of these, the representative Baudin was killed; and he was the first who fell. The minister of war published a proclamation, advising all the inhabitants of the capital to remain in their houses, and declaring that all who were found defending the barricades, or taken with arms in their hands, should be shot. The chief barricades had been erected in the neighborhood of the Porte St. Denis, the Porte St. Martin, and in the streets adjacent to them. The troops were quietly demolishing these until twelve o'clock in the forenoon. St. Arnaud, the Minister of War, had entrusted the conduct of affairs on this critical occasion to General Magnan. As the middle of the day approached, the excitement throughout the capital became more and more intense. Still the troops made no hostile demonstration, and their apparent reluctance filled the Red Republicans with hope. The streets were now full of tumultuous crowds; and at two o'clock the general order was given to all the troops to advance simultaneously and clear the streets. They obeyed. The division which marched along the Boulevards was fired upon from the roofs and windows; and then an irregular battle ensued, which continued for several hours. Many were slain on both sides. The streets were thus gradually cleared; but the ground was covered with the bodies of the dying and the dead. Some were killed who took no share whatever in the conflict, but had been drawn by curiosity to their windows. As the soldiers could not distinguish between friends and foes, many innocent persons fell victims to their imprudence and carelessness.

During several hours the capital was the scene of an irregular conflict; but by five o'clock in the afternoon all was over. Tranquillity was again restored. The victorious troops retained possession of the streets; the vanquished citizens and insurgents remained concealed in their houses. The dead were quickly buried, and numerous patrols, which scoured the city in all directions, arrested every person whose appearance

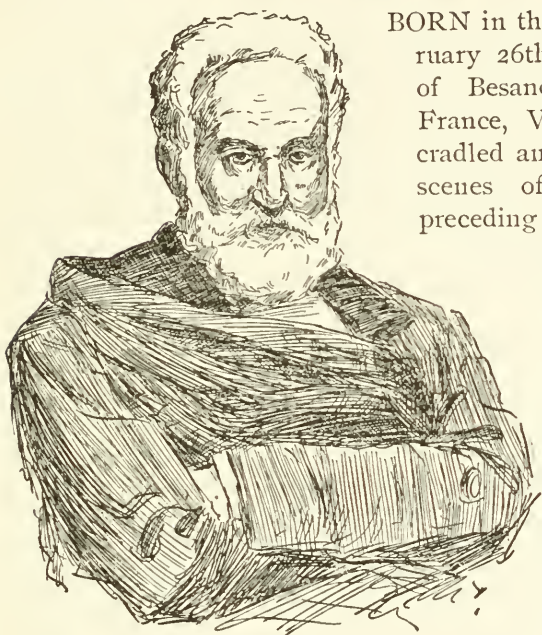
and movements were in the least degree suspicious. During Thursday night, silence, not unmingled with terror, pervaded the capitol. When Friday dawned, no sign of resistance was exhibited. The opposing factions had been completely crushed. The troops marched through every part of the city, but no foe appeared. The bold *coup d'état* of the President had been completely successful. He who had blundered and failed so ignominiously at Strasburg and Boulogne had triumphed gloriously in Paris.

The number of killed and wounded during this memorable struggle has been variously estimated. The most reliable supposition is that which places the number of slain at 235, and the wounded at 400. Of these, there were 30 killed and 180 wounded on the part of the soldiers. Throughout the country the excitement became intense. There were insurrections in twenty-five departments at once. The Socialists were at the bottom of these movements, and their fury was expended against all those who represented order, wealth, rank and respectability. In some places the churches were burned, the priests were assaulted, women were outraged; murder, pillage, and conflagration prevailed. But all these disorders were gradually put down by the army and by the decisive and rapid measures adopted by the President. At the conclusion of this memorable week all the disturbances were quelled; order again reigned throughout France, the capital was tranquil, the dead were buried, the wounded were conveyed to the hospitals, the most active and dangerous anarchists were imprisoned, the Assembly was obliterated, and Louis Napoleon had realized at last the life-long aspiration of his heart; the dying prayer of Hortense was at length fulfilled, and her son, the heir of the great Napoleon, had become the absolute ruler of France!—S. M. SCHMUCKER.





# VICTOR HUGO.



BORN in the year 1802 (February 26th), at the village of Besançon, in Eastern France, Victor Hugo was cradled among the stirring scenes of martial glory preceding the establishment of the First Empire. His father was a colonel in the army of Napoleon, and the young Victor, born almost amid the roar of cannon, followed, with his mother, the steps of the conquering army.

"I traversed Europe," says he, "almost before I began to live;" and, in fact, at five years of age he had already been carried from Besançon to Elba, from Elba to Paris, from Paris to Rome, from Rome to Naples, had played at the foot of Vesuvius, and with his father had chased Italian brigands across the mountains of Calabria.

On his return to France in 1809, his education, already commenced by so large an experience of the world, was continued by the aid of books. He learned the rudiments of the classics in an ancient convent near his mother's dwelling,

where he passed two years of domestic serenity and quiet study. It was his fortune to read Tacitus with an old royalist general, a proscribed refugee, who found a hiding place from the imperial police at the house of Madame Hugo (herself a royalist), and a fugitive in early revolutionary days from the famous Vendean army. Some years later the father of Victor Hugo, now become a general, and appointed majordomo of King Joseph Bonaparte's palace at Madrid, removed thither with his wife and children. Under the brilliant sky of Spain, on her picturesque and storied soil, rich in old historic memories, and then agitated by war, the young Victor received indelible impressions, and his mind still preserved some tint of the Gothic and Moorish spirit of that land. To this brief sojourn in the peninsula, at this early and impressionable age, he doubtless owed much of that bold and lofty reach of thought, that Castilian march of verse, and that southern exuberance of imagination which so greatly distinguish his writings.

Already, at the age of ten years, the poetic demon possessed him, and asserted its sway over his susceptible nature. At the age when most boys begin to speak in prose, he began to murmur forth vague and confused melodies. Gradually ripening his powers, at the age of sixteen he sent to the French Academy two odes, which were both publicly crowned. From that moment the young poet began to astonish France by the precocity and the variety of his genius. His soul poured itself forth in streams of song, vigorous, irregular, but brilliant and burning as a stream of lava. M. de Chateaubriand, then at the zenith of his own literary fame, decorated Hugo with the title of "*L'enfant sublime.*"

His convictions soon underwent an irresistible change; the fervor of his royalism abated, and his early bias toward his mother's political creed was gradually overcome, till it was wholly merged in a true and hearty sympathy with the people. This showed itself first by his becoming a leader among the Romanticists in opposition to those who still sought to fetter modern genius with rules derived from study of the classics of antiquity. Hugo's dramatic writings played an important part in the struggle between the opposing schools.

If the genius of Victor Hugo is great as a novelist, it is still greater and more elevated as a poet. The French language had never before arrived at such a degree of flexibility and beauty of poetic diction. Never were poems so distinguished for harmony, delicacy, smoothness of rhythm, richness of coloring, and profusion of imagery. Hugo lavishes upon his verse those grander elements of imagination, that almost oriental pomp, which impresses, while it sometimes overpowers the reader. In his dramatic works, Hugo became the acknowledged chief of the romantic school. "Hernani" and "Marion Delorme" are powerful dramas, which still keep the stage after sixty years.

With his early fictions began to be developed in Victor Hugo that tendency to a perfect antithesis between the good and the evil, the beautiful and the deformed, which pervades all his romances and dramas, and upon which, at a later period, he appears to have engrafted an entire dramatic system.

The great early romance of Victor Hugo is his "*Notre Dame de Paris*," which appeared in 1831. On this work, which is the history of a foundling, brought up within the walls of the cathedral of Notre Dame, the author lavished the entire force of his creative power. The work is of remarkable originality in all its parts, and no scene or character can be traced as an actual imitation of any model. The vivid contrasts in which it abounds—the hideous ugliness of Quasimodo, with the angelic beauty of Esmeralda—illustrate the artistic creed of our author, just alluded to, that the essence of art lies in the exhibition of powerful contrasts. The book has great faults of execution, is full of extravagances of style and sentiment, and yet displays so much energy and grace, such passion, such power, and such genius, that the reader, profoundly affected and unable to take account of the variety of his emotions, is prone to surrender his critical faculties, and do involuntary homage to the power of the author.

On the downfall of Louis Philippe, in 1848, Victor Hugo was returned as a member of the French Assembly, in which body he was one of the few eloquent speakers, and was ardently enlisted in the cause of the new but short-lived

Republic. In 1851, when the ambitious and sinister designs of Louis Napoleon became manifest, he was one of the steadiest, most unflinching, and most energetic opponents of that prince. His bold and eloquent attacks in the Assembly rendered him a dangerous subject to the future emperor, and on the successful issue of the *Coup d'État* in December, 1851, Hugo was compelled to fly to Brussels, and thence to the island of Guernsey, less than twenty miles from the coast of France, but a possession of the British crown. Here he entered upon an exile which was to last for twenty years.

In his "*Napoléon le Petit*" will be found, in their most striking form, all the marked characteristics of Hugo's mind. This book is full of vivid antithesis, impassioned appeal, fierce denunciation, biting sarcasm, glowing apostrophe, towering climax, and terrible invective. The author's mind is filled with the one great fact of Napoleon's treason to the Republic and to liberty—his double violation of the oath of a prince and the honor of a man, his stealthy and insidious plots and preparations for the *Coup d'État*, his suppression of the liberty of the press, his choking of the freedom of debate, his proscription of the eighty-four representatives of the people, his massacre through his myrmidons of three hundred on the 4th of December, his transportation to Algeria of ten thousand patriots, and his driving into exile through fears of prosecution of nearly forty thousand more. Victor Hugo sees none of the palliating circumstances furnished by state emergencies and popular connivance, but pours out upon the head of the successful criminal all the vials of his wrath. Whatever may be our opinion of the correctness of his judgment and the fairness of his book, we cannot refuse to it the foremost place at the head of all political diatribes.

From the period of his "*Notre Dame de Paris*," published at the age of twenty-nine, Victor Hugo produced no other work of fiction for thirty years, when his ripened imaginative powers found utterance in that marvellous creation, "*Les Misérables*," which appeared in the year 1862. The publication of this work was an event in literary history. Such was the sustained power of the book, that it seized hold of the public mind like a great battle, or a conflagration, shutting out for



the time being all other objects of interest. "Have you read *Les Misérables*?" was the question continually propounded. Its thrilling pages were devoured by patricians and plebeians alike; high-born dames wept over its vivid pictures of misery and poverty, and scholars, politicians and men of the world sat up all night to read the absorbing volumes, until the morning sun streamed in at the windows.

The secret of its fascination lies in its many-sidedness; it is not in its plot alone, in spite of the ingenuity, the perils, and the hair-breadth escapes; it is the broad, free strokes with which the characters are drawn, the minute descriptions of nature, the wealth of imagery and illustration, the curious erudition, and the unfailing literary skill, which keep up an unflagging interest to the close. The amplitude of view appeals to every reader, who, if his prejudices are sometimes shocked, cannot help admiring the consummate power of the writer who shocks them. In this book, Victor Hugo writes sometimes like a historian, sometimes like a magistrate, sometimes like a seer, sometimes like a philosopher, sometimes like an antiquary, sometimes like a statesman, sometimes like an apostle of humanity,—always like a poet. The work is full of startling and violent contrasts, of sharp antitheses. From the most squalid depths of misery to the sublimest heights of felicity,—from despair to ecstasy,—from a battle with the lowest and most disgusting forms of animal life, to seraphic visions and celestial happiness; he transports his paradoxical hero, Jean Valjean, literally from the chain and ball of the convict in the galleys to a seat among the gods. Let who will quarrel with his art,—none will dispute his versatility or his power. What life, what imagery, what color, what energy are diffused throughout the work, instead of the pale and bloodless platitudes of the correct but comparatively barren classic school of fiction!

Victor Hugo was elected a member of the French Academy in 1841. Upon his return to Paris, on the fall of the Second Empire in 1871, he was elected to the Corps Legislatif, but resigned. In 1876 he was made a Senator for life. He still continued his literary activity, producing poems and other writings worthy of his fame. He passed the rest of his life



in a tranquil and honored old age, and died May 22d, 1885. His funeral, on the 1st of June, was a remarkable tribute to his memory. All France joined in bewailing the Frenchman who loved his country with a fervor more than patriotic.

#### THE EXILE OF ST. HELENA.

He fell a king : then, in his rout,  
A hostile phantom up he rose,  
Trusting no more, we scarce may doubt,  
To fall so low beneath his foes.  
Afar then from his tyrant-throne—  
That an appalling unison  
Might press upon his humbled pride—  
This mightiest captive on a rock  
Was cast—a rock, itself descried  
As the great ruin of some earthquake shock.

Congearing there like a vast lava-stream,  
Guarded by conquer'd foes, from man thus bay'd,  
This tyrant-relic, wakening from his dream  
A slave, a change of fetters had but made.  
Each step upon his island shook our walls;  
Though rung no more his battle-calls,  
He yet in all survived.  
He died; and, when the tidings met its ears,  
The world respired amid its civil fears,  
Of its great prisoner deprived.

Thus strayeth pride, on its high progress bent,  
A breath-born giant, which a look may smite.  
A spear the sceptre, and the throne a tent  
HE made. His reign was one long fight.  
He to the scourge he wielded look'd with fear—  
He trembled, though the lord of earth.  
They praised him for a soldier's worth :  
Fallen back upon his own heart's deep abyss,  
He pass'd from glory and from crime wide-spread;  
The end of all was wretchedness !

## ONE YEAR AFTER THE COUP D'ÉTAT.

(December 2, 1852.)

Before foul treachery and heads hung down,  
 I fold my arms, indignant but serene.  
 Oh! faith in fallen things—be thou my crown,  
 My force, my joy, my prop on which I lean:

Yes, whilst *he's* there, or struggle some or fall,  
 O France, dear France, for whom I weep in vain,  
 Tomb of my sires, nest of my loves—my all,  
 I ne'er shall see thee with these eyes again.

I shall not see thy sad, sad sounding shore,  
 France, save my duty, I shall all forget;  
 Amongst the true and tried, I'll tug my oar,  
 And rest proscribed to brand the fawning set.

O bitter exile, hard, without a term,  
 Thee I accept, nor seek nor care to know  
 Who have down-truckled 'mid the men deemed firm,  
 And who have fled that should have fought the foe.

If true a thousand stand, with them I stand;  
 A hundred? 'tis enough: we'll Sylla brave;  
 Ten? put my name down foremost in the band;  
 One? well, alone—until I find my grave.

—V. HUGO, *Translated by* TORU DUTT.

## MOURNING.

(March, 1871.)

Charles, Charles, my son! hast thou, then, quitted me?  
 Must all fade, naught endure?  
 Hast vanished in that radiance, clear for thee,  
 But still for us obscure?

My sunset lingers, boy, thy morn declines!  
 Sweet mutual love we've known;  
 For man, alas! plans, dreams, and smiling twines  
 With others' souls his own.

He cries, "This has no end!" pursues his way:  
 He soon is downward bound:  
 He lives, he suffers; in his grasp one day  
 Mere dust and ashes found.

I've wandered twenty years, in distant lands,  
With sore heart forced to stay :  
Why fell the blow Fate only understands !  
God took my home away.

To-day one daughter and one son remain  
Of all my goodly show :  
Well-nigh in solitude my dark hours wane ;  
God takes my children now.

Linger, ye two still left me ! though decays  
Our nest, our hearts remain ;  
In gloom of death your mother silent prays,  
I in this life of pain.

Martyr of Sion ! holding Thee in sight,  
I'll drain this cup of gall,  
And scale with step resolved that dangerous height,  
Which rather seems a fall.

Truth is sufficient guide ; no more man needs  
Than end so nobly shown.  
Mourning, but brave, I march ; where duty leads,  
I seek the vast unknown.

—*Translated by* MARWOOD TUCKER.



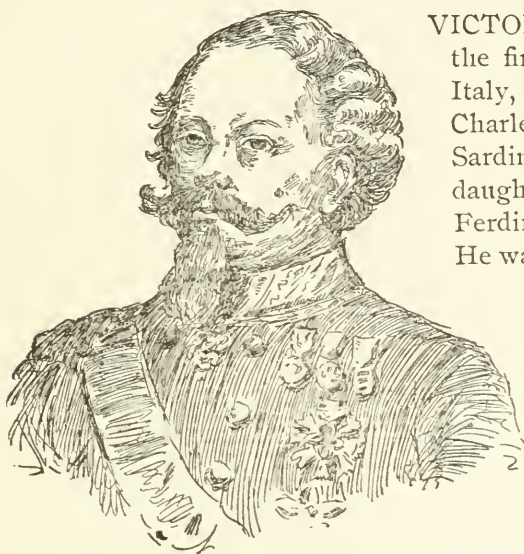
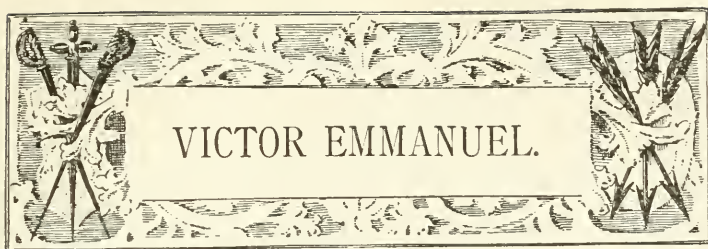




ALFRED W. JONES.

VICTOR EMANUEL AND GARIBOLDI AT TRIESTE.





VICTOR EMMANUEL, the first king of united Italy, was the son of Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, and of Theresa, daughter of Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany.

He was born at Turin on the 14th of March, 1820. He received a careful education in science and military tactics. On April 12, 1842, he married the Archduchess Adelaide of Austria.

As Duke of Savoy he took an active part in the events of 1848, accompanying his father to the field, and distinguishing himself at the battles of Gotto and Novara. On the evening after the latter, March 24, 1849, Charles Albert signed his abdication in the Bellina Palace, in favor of his son.

Victor Emmanuel was then known only as a great sportsman, haughty, and a reputed opponent of liberalism. He succeeded in obtaining from Austria terms less humiliating than those imposed on his father; but the treaty of peace was not signed till the 12th of August. On ascending the throne of Sardinia he endeavored to reorganize the finances, the army, and the system of public instruction; established railways and promoted trade. He refused the offer made by

Austria for the cession of Parma, provided he would abolish the Constitution. Genoa having revolted and expelled his garrison, he sent an army against it and reduced it to obedience. His efforts for the prosperity of his kingdom were generally successful. By the advice of Count Cavour he confiscated much church property, and took away many clerical privileges. He concluded, in January, 1855, a convention with France and England, to take part in the war against Russia, and dispatched to the Crimea an army of 17,000 men, under General De La Marmora, which, after a considerable interval of sickness and inaction, gained a signal victory on the banks of the Tchernaya. Sardinia thus obtained a right to take part in the Conference of Paris, and her ambassador, Count Cavour, laid before the representatives an able paper on the state of Italy, but the Conference took no action on it. In 1855 the king lost his mother, wife and brother, and was brought to death's door by an attack of fever. After his recovery he visited France and England, where he was received with great enthusiasm.

In the early part of 1859 Victor Emmanuel, whose relations with Austria had long been unfriendly, announced in the Chamber of Deputies that a storm was impending. Count Cavour detailed the grievances of Sardinia against Austria in a diplomatic circular. Austria summoned Sardinia to disarm, but in vain; and the Austrian army crossed the Ticino. Napoleon III. dispatched a powerful army to Italy, and, having assumed the command, joined the Sardinian forces, and defeated the Austrians at Montebello, May 20th; at Palestro, May 30th and 31st; at Magenta, June 4th; and at Solferino, June 24th, the emperor and the king being present in person. The Austrians were expelled from Lombardy, the princes from Naples, Tuscany, Parma, and Modena; and the Treaty of Villafranca, concluded on July 11th, confirmed by the Treaty of Zurich, November 10th, terminated the war and declared Victor Emmanuel King of Italy.

In 1860 the daring expedition of Garibaldi and his "Thousand Heroes" to Sicily resulted not only in the liberation of that island, but in driving the Bourbon king from his throne. This glorious prize was presented to Victor

Emmanuel, although he had given no assistance to the gallant adventure.

A treaty for the evacuation of Rome by the French in two years, was signed September 15, 1864. A few months later the court was transferred to Florence. In 1866 the King of Italy, making common cause with Prussia, declared war against Austria. The Italian army was defeated by the Austrians at Custozza, June 24th, and the Italian fleet sustained a reverse off Lissa, July 20th; but in consequence of the success of the Prussians, peace was signed at Vienna, October 3d, by which Venice and the territory of Venetia were ceded to Italy. Victor Emmanuel made his public entrance into Venice on November 7th.

The French troops, which were to be removed from Rome in 1867, according to agreement, remained there until the war took place between France and Prussia, when the emperor felt himself compelled to withdraw them. The last detachment left the States of the Church in August, 1870, and on the 20th of September, notwithstanding the agreement made by Victor Emmanuel not to invade the pope's dominions, the Italian troops, under General Cadorna, entered Rome, after a short resistance of the pontifical troops, who ceased firing at the pope's request. It was not until late in the following year, however, that the formal transfer of the capital was effected. On June 24th the Parliament of Florence was prorogued, and in the following week the King of Italy took up his abode in the Palace of the Quirinal. Thereupon Victor Emmanuel said, "With Rome as the capital of Italy I have fulfilled my promise, and crowned the enterprise which three-and-twenty years ago was undertaken by my illustrious father. My heart, as a king and as a son, is filled with a solemn exultation at having to salute here, for the first time, representatives assembled from all parts of our beloved country, and at being enabled to say to them, 'Italy is free and united; henceforth it depends upon us alone to make her also great and prosperous.'"

Each step of the king's advance to higher power had been marked by a triumphal entry into a city—Milan, Florence, Naples, Venice, and finally Rome. Victor Emmanuel, who

had no wish to quarrel with the Catholic Church, made overtures of friendship to the pope, but Pius IX. firmly refused to enter into any relations with a monarch who had seized the Estates of the Holy See. Victor Emmanuel expired, after but a few days' illness, on the 9th of January, 1878. He was buried in the Pantheon.

What was the special character, the great endowment, of the fortunate king who had realized what had been the dream of ages for Italy? Victor Emmanuel was simply an energetic soldier of reckless bravery. He early acquired the popular name, "*Ré galantuomo*." His nature was passionate and uncultivated, yet he was possessed of sound common sense and good faith. Without any marked intellectual ability, he was personally well suited, under the direction of the statesmanship of Count Cavour, and with the opportune military help of the French emperor and the Italian patriot, to realize the great object of his life—the unification and regeneration of Italy.

#### THE ITALIAN CAMPAIGN OF 1859.

The first serious battle took place at Montebello, at which place the Austrians sustained a defeat from the French. On the 30th of May the second of the four great battles of the campaign took place at Palestro. It was in this battle that the Sardinian army, led by the king in person, achieved its chief triumph. For a long time the issue remained doubtful, but finally the fate of the day was decided by an impetuous charge of the Bassalieri, assisted by a corps of French Zouaves. In this charge Victor Emmanuel advanced at the head of his troops, and was for some little time actually cut off from the bulk of his soldiers. In honor of the personal share the king had taken in this action, he was appointed to a nominal command in the Zouaves; and throughout his life he was fond of describing himself as the Corporal of Zouaves. As a result of this victory, the Austrians had to retire, and there can be no doubt that the battle exercised a very important influence on the final issue of the campaign. In Italian records the battle of Palestro is given, perhaps, even more than its fair share of significance. This is natural enough, as it is the only engage-



ment in which the Sardinian troops took and kept the lead. It was essential to the objects for which Napoleon had entered upon the war, that the chief if not the sole credit of the campaign should redound to France, and that his own leadership as a military general should be made as conspicuous as possible. The campaign was conducted under the control of the French generals, and it was their policy to keep the Sardinian contingent as much in the background as possible. Personally, the Emperor of the French did everything in his power to avoid offending the susceptibilities of the Italians; but his generals were not equally considerate, and Victor Emmanuel had to put up with much that was eminently distasteful to his pride.

Moreover, the vexation which naturally had been caused to the king by the preëminence assigned to the French throughout the campaign was increased, in so far as his personal feelings were concerned, by the exploits achieved by the free lances under the command of Garibaldi. To the "Hunters of the Alps," as this corps was described, there had been assigned the duty of harassing the Austrians in the broken country lying at the foot of the Alpine ranges. The task was comparatively an easy one. The Austrian outposts were harassed and disheartened by the ill-fortune which attended the main body of the army. The country surrounding the Italian lakes was one in which regular troops were at a disadvantage. The population was bitterly hostile to the Austrian soldiery. And, also, it is only fair to admit that General Garibaldi's real military talent as a guerilla leader found full scope in this mountain warfare. Still, be the explanation what it may, the fact remains that the Garibaldian volunteers, alone and unassisted, inflicted a series of more or less damaging defeats upon the Austrians in the neighborhood of Como and Varese, at a time when the exploits of the regular Sardinian troops were obscured by the prowess of their too powerful ally. To speak the truth, the Lombard campaign was one fought by France with the assistance of a Sardinian contingent, and there can be little doubt that, if Victor Emmanuel could have followed the dictates of his own heart, he would far sooner have been leading the Garibaldian volun-



teers than have served in the regular campaign, practically, though not nominally, under the orders of the French staff.

It would, however, be doing less than justice to the king's character to suppose that his personal annoyances obscured his recognition of the ends which were being achieved by the aid of France. The battle of Magenta, which took place on the third of June, laid Milan open to the invading force, and compelled the Austrians to seek the protection of the Quadrilateral. On the 8th of June Napoleon III. and Victor Emmanuel entered Milan in triumph. The French were, of necessity, the heroes of the hour; but to Victor Emmanuel the welcome given had a personal as well as a political character. He was welcomed not only as the liberator of Lombardy, but as the son of Charles Albert. Immediately upon the entrance of the allied armies Lombardy was declared part and parcel of the Sardinian kingdom, and the head of the House of Savoy was once more greeted with the title of King of Italy.

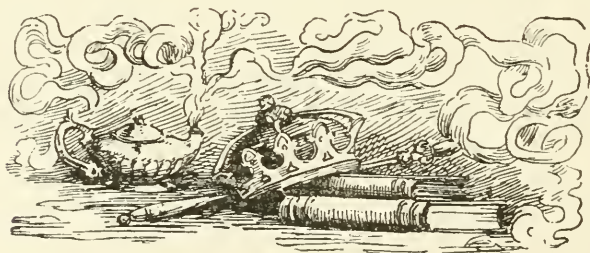
Meanwhile, the Emperor Francis Joseph had arrived at Verona, to inspire his troops by his presence. So long as the Quadrilateral was intact, the dominion of Austria in the Peninsula was not seriously endangered; and if the Austrian generals had followed the tactics of 1848, and had awaited attack behind their fortresses, the issue of the war might have been different. Radetsky, however, had died the year before, and with him the Austrians had lost their one commander of military genius. The presence of the young emperor upon the field of battle seemed to necessitate immediate action. General Benedek, the commander-in-chief, though brave and impetuous, was not possessed of strategical ability, and on the 23d of June the Austrian army crossed the Mincio in force, with the view of marching upon Milan. On the following day the Austrians were attacked by the Franco-Sardinian armies. The battle lasted from early morning till close on sunset. The fortunes of the day were for a time doubtful. The Austrians, who fought with stubborn courage, were at last dislodged from their positions by the onslaught of their assailants. Since that time the destructiveness of modern warfare has increased in terrible proportions, but at the date

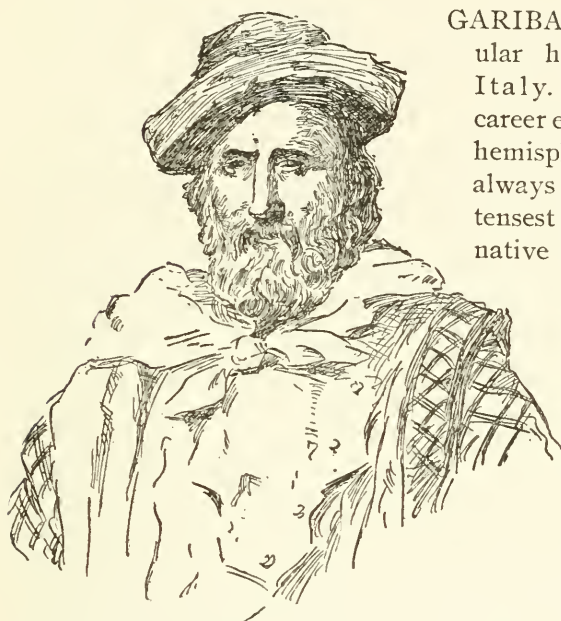
of its occurrence Solferino was regarded as one of the bloodiest of battles recorded in history. The main attack upon the Austrians was made at two points—at Solferino by the French, and at San Martino by the Sardinians. Both attacks proved ultimately successful, but the first-named was the more important of the two, while the latter was chiefly useful in diverting the resistance of the enemy. The combined operations of the allied armies resulted in a decisive, though costly, victory—the loss of the attacking force in officers being necessarily the heavier of the two. The allies lost 936 officers and 17,305 men, while the Austrian muster-roll of killed and wounded amounted to only 630 officers and 19,311 men. At the end of the day, the allied armies held the positions occupied by the enemy in the morning. The final repulse of the Austrians was effected by a junction between the Sardinian and the French armies, in which the former were led by the king himself. This defeat, coming at the end of a series of disasters to the Austrian arms, seemed at the time to be overwhelming, and the allied armies looked forward with confidence to an immediate advance upon the Quadrilateral.

On the morrow of Solferino Napoleon III. was deemed by common consent to have reëstablished the military ascendancy of France, and to have vindicated his own claim to the succession of his great predecessor. The repute may have been ill-founded, but it sufficed to serve his purpose. To have carried on the war, and to have expelled the Austrians from Venetia, as he had from Lombardy, would have added little to the fame he had already won; while any repulse, or even any prolonged resistance, would have obliterated the memory of his past successes. No prudent commander could count absolutely upon a continuance of the uninterrupted success which had hitherto attended the French arms. The Austrians, fighting beneath the shelter of the Quadrilateral, might easily, as 1848 had shown, have proved far more formidable antagonists than they had manifested themselves in the open plains of Lombardy. The fortresses could only be captured, in all human likelihood, after a protracted and costly siege; while, if the war was prolonged, it was well-nigh certain Austria would not be left to fight her battle

alone. Throughout Germany the desire to come to the aid of Austria was daily becoming more marked. It was only the opposition of Prussia which had hitherto restrained the Diet from passing a resolution to the effect that the cause of Austria was one which the Confederation was bound to make its own; and already Prussia had had to yield so far to the pressure of popular opinion in Germany as to propose the mobilization of the Federal forces.

Thus, in as far as France was concerned, every consideration of prudence dictated the expediency of an early termination of the war. Indeed, looking back upon the past, the force of the arguments in favor of the peace of Villafranca seems so decisive from the Napoleonic point of view, that it is difficult to believe the Sardinian Government to have been as much astonished at the conclusion of peace as they professed to be at the time. Be this as it may, at the very moment when the allied armies were about to advance into Venetia, and when the Sardinians had already commenced the investment of Peschiera, Napoleon III. announced his intention of proposing an armistice, with a view to the arrangement of a treaty of peace. On the 8th of July an armistice was concluded for five weeks. On the 11th, after a personal interview at Villafranca between the two emperors, the conditions of peace were agreed upon and signed. With their signature the war was virtually at an end.—E. DICEY.





GARIBALDI is the popular hero of United Italy. His romantic career embraced the two hemispheres, yet he was always devoted with intensest affection to his native Italy. In the height of his triumph it was his sorest trial that the spot of his birth had been assigned to foreigners as part of the price which was paid for Italy's redemption.

Giuseppe Garibaldi was born on July 22, 1807, at Nice, of humble parents. When but a boy he entered upon a seafaring life, making voyages to Odessa and Rome. Becoming filled with democratic ardor, he was implicated in a conspiracy to seize Genoa, and was condemned to death. He escaped to France, and landed at Marseilles, whence he sailed in an Egyptian corvette, and offered his services to the Bey of Tunis; but the life was not stirring enough for him. In 1836 he went to South America and fought for the republic of Rio Grande, then in rebellion against Brazil. He commanded a vessel of thirty tons, with a crew of sixteen men, and having



been taken prisoner at Gualeguay, on trying to effect an escape he was very cruelly treated. After being set at liberty he again fought for Rio Grande. He eloped with the beautiful creole, Anita Riveira de Silva, who afterwards accompanied him through a variety of stirring adventures. He was by turns a ranchero, shipping merchant, and teacher of navigation at Montevideo. He raised and commanded an Italian legion of 800 men against the dictator Rosas, and fought the battle of Salto Sant' Antonio. On land and sea his red shirt became famous in exploits detailed in his autobiography.

In 1847, on hearing of the elevation of Pius IX. to the papedom, he offered his services, but received an ambiguous reply. The king of Sardinia referred the returned exile to his ministers. They did not want such a headstrong mutineer. But he must fight. He organized a force in the Alps, and fought against the Austrians on the Swiss frontier, and then wandered southward to Ravenna. In 1849 he offered his aid to the revolutionary government of Rome. Being welcomed with great enthusiasm, he defeated Oudinot's expedition and drove the Neapolitans over the frontier. He was in the thick of the struggle which ensued when the French troops, being reinforced, laid siege to Rome. Garibaldi, after a heroic defence, was soon obliged to flee, the French and Austrians pursuing him. He crossed Italy to the Adriatic, and on its shores his devoted Anita, worn out with hardships, died and was buried in the sand. Garibaldi was arrested by order of the Sardinian government and ordered to leave the country. He came to the United States and became a manufacturer of soap and candles on Staten Island. Afterwards he was a shipping merchant. He refused any public recognition of his services from his countrymen in America.

In 1854 the exile returned to Italy, and settled on the desolate island of Caprera, where he commenced farming with great success. On offering his services to the Sardinian generals in 1859 he was much opposed, but was permitted to organize a body of volunteers, called Hunters of the Alps, consisting of 17,000 men, and with this force he engaged at Varese, Montebello, Magenta and Solferino. After the treaty



of Villafranca, Garibaldi marched into Central Italy as second in command, but was forbidden to advance on Rome.

Without permission of anybody, he gathered a thousand men for an expedition to Sicily in May, 1860, landed at Marsala and took Palermo. At the end of August he crossed to the mainland, and the struggle was carried from Reggio northward, with faint-hearted opposition, to Naples, which the Bourbon king, Francis II., known as "Bomba," abandoned. Garibaldi pushed on to Gaeta, where the Bourbons had sought refuge. Returning to Naples, he met Victor Emmanuel and saluted him "King of Italy." Capua and Gaeta afterwards capitulated.

Garibaldi did not get on well with the Sardinian lieutenants, who refused to admit his volunteers to enrolment in the regular army. The republicans were offended at his submission to the king. Therefore, as poor in purse as when he set out, without any honors or titles, the simple-minded general went on board a vessel and returned to his home in Caprera. The cession of his native city (Nice) to France had filled him with sorrow. In 1862 Garibaldi led a new expedition from southern Italy, to make an attack on Rome. They were followed by a strong body of the royal troops, and were attacked on the mountain plateau of Aspromonte, when they surrendered, Garibaldi himself being severely wounded in the ankle. He was conveyed to Spezzia, where the bullet was extracted. On account of his services in the cause of Italian independence in 1860, he was pardoned, and he returned to Caprera.

During the war of 1866 Garibaldi again took the field against Austria, and was engaged in operations in the Tyrol. He sustained a severe repulse from the Austrians on July 22d, and was compelled to retreat. This reverse he retrieved before the Seven Weeks' War was brought to a close.

In 1867 Garibaldi organized an invasion of the States of the Church, and in October set out to join the insurgent bands on the Roman frontier. At the head of four companies of volunteers he defeated the Pontifical troops at Monto Rotondo, October 26th; but on the 4th of November, at Mentana, he suffered a speedy and crushing defeat. Garibaldi was arrested at Figline, on his journey to Caprera,

and carried to the fortress of Varignano, near Spezzia. The general protested against this act, and claimed the protection due to an American citizen and an Italian deputy. Being soon set at liberty, he retired to his island home and spent his time in writing two novels, *The Volunteer Soldier*, and *Clelia*, which had no particular merit.

On the downfall of the French Empire, Garibaldi hastened to France to place his sword at the disposal of the government of the National Defence. He landed at Marseilles October 7, 1870, arrived at Tours two days later, and on the 16th was given the command of the irregular forces in the Vosges. Great expectations were formed in some quarters of these troops; but they rendered little service in the field, whilst their conduct towards the clergy and the inmates of conventual establishments excited a general feeling of disgust. In February, 1871, Garibaldi was returned a deputy for the National Assembly for Paris, and several of the departments; but at the preliminary sitting of that body at Bordeaux on the 12th, the general, "loving the Republic, but hating the priesthood," ungraciously gave in his resignation. He also resigned the command of the Army of the Vosges, and, returning to Caprera, soon published his third romance, called "*The Thousand*," and based on the events of his Sicilian expedition. The remainder of his life was passed in terrible rheumatic suffering. His friends and admirers in England purchased and presented to him the whole island of Caprera. He had been married to an adventuress in 1859, but was legally separated from her in 1880, and then united to Francesca, a peasant girl, who had been the nurse of one of his daughters. His troubled life ended on the 2d of June, 1882.

Giuseppe Garibaldi saw the practical fulfillment of his dream of the unification of Italy. But his utopian ideas of a Republic, coupled with his indiscriminating hatred of the Church, led him into schemes which were really ruinous to the cause which he desired to champion. His life was a continual struggle to enforce his ideas on those whose government he believed to be detrimental to the welfare of his native land. The Italian government availed itself of his labors and successes, but could not commit itself to his rash guidance. His

simplicity was easily imposed upon by those who advocated unrestricted liberty. During the latter part of his life he felt himself called upon to act as the successor of Mazzini as prophet of liberal government in Europe.

## MENTANA.

(November 3, 1867.)

Young soldiers of the noble Latin blood,  
 How many are ye—Boys? Four thousand odd.  
 How many are there dead? Six hundred; count!  
 Their limbs lie strewn about the fatal mount,  
 Blackened and torn, eyes gummed with blood, hearts rolled  
 Out from their ribs, to give the wolves of the wold  
 A red feast; nothing of them left but these  
 Pierced relics, underneath the olive trees,  
 Show where the gin was sprung—the scoundrel-trap  
 Which brought those hero-lads their foul mishap.  
 See how they fell in swathes—like barley-ears!  
 Their crime? to claim Rome and her glories theirs;  
 To fight for Right and Honor;—foolish names!  
 Come—Mothers of the soil! Italian dames!  
 Turn the dead over!—try your battle luck!  
 (Bearded or smooth, to her that gave him suck  
 The man is always child)—Stay, here's a brow  
 Split by the Zouaves' bullets! This one, now,  
 With the bright curly hair soaked so in blood,  
 Was yours, ma donna!—sweet and fair and good.  
 The spirit sat upon his fearless face  
 Before they murdered it, in all the grace  
 Of manhood's dawn. Sisters, here's yours! his lips,  
 Over whose bloom the bloody death-foam slips,  
 Lisped house-songs after you, and said your name  
 In loving prattle once. That hand, the same  
 Which lies so cold over the eyelids shut,  
 Was once a small pink baby-fist, and wet  
 With milk beads from thy yearning breasts.

Take thou

Thine eldest,—thou, thy youngest born. Oh, flow  
 Of tears never to cease! Oh, Hope quite gone,  
 Dead like the dead!—Yet could they live alone—  
 Without their Tiber and their Rome? and be

Young and Italian—and not also free?  
 They longed to see the ancient eagle try  
 His lordly pinions in a modern sky.  
 They bore—each on himself—the insults laid  
 On the dear foster-land: of naught afraid,  
 Save of not finding foes enough to dare.  
 For Italy. Ah, gallant, free, and rare  
 Young martyrs of a sacred cause,—Adieu!  
 No more of life—no more of love—for you!  
 No sweet long-straying in the star-lit glades  
 At Ave-Mary, with the Italian maids;  
 No welcome home!

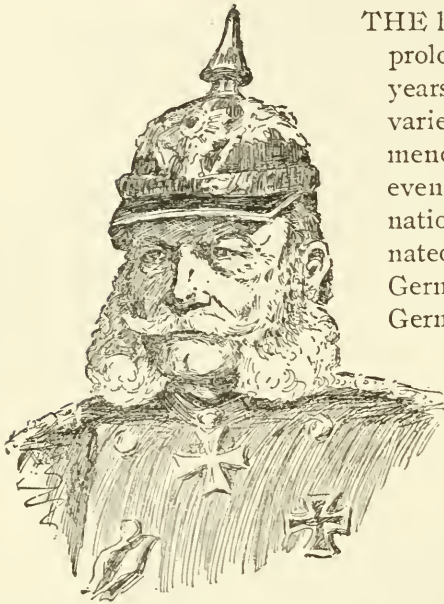
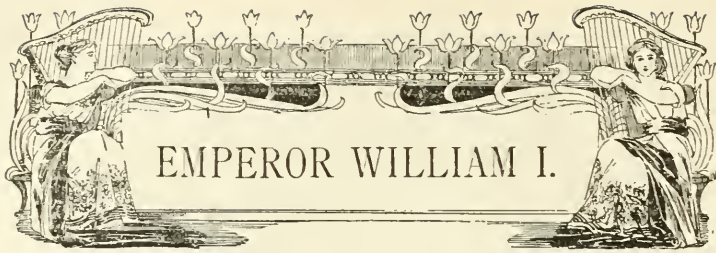
This Garibaldi now, the Italian boys  
 Go mad to hear him—take to dying—take  
 To passion for “the pure and high;”—God’s sake!  
 It’s monstrous, horrible! One sees quite clear  
 Society—our charge—must shake with fear,  
 And shriek for help, and call on us to act,  
 When there’s a hero, taken in the fact.  
 If Light shines in the dark, there’s guilt in that! .  
 What’s viler than a lantern to a bat?

But thou, our Hero, baffled, foiled,  
 The Glorious Chief who vainly bled and toiled.  
 The trust of all the Peoples—Freedom’s Knight!  
 The Paladin unstained—the Sword of Right!  
 What wilt thou do, whose land finds thee but gaols!  
 The banished claim the banished! deign to cheer.  
 The refuge of the homeless—enter here,  
 And light upon our households dark will fall  
 Even as thou enterest. Oh, Brother, all,  
 Each one of us—hurt with thy sorrows’ proof,  
 Will make a country for thee of his roof.  
 Come, sit with those who live as exiles learn:  
 Come! Thou whom kings could conquer, but not turn.  
 We’ll talk of “Palermo”—“the Thousand” true;  
 Will tell the tears of blood of France to you;  
 Then by his own great Sea we’ll read, together,  
 Old Homer in the quiet summer weather,  
 And after, thou shalt go to thy desire  
 While that faint star of Justice grows to fire.

Oh, Italy ! hail your Deliverer,  
Oh, Nations ! almost he gave Rome to her !  
Strong-arm and prophet-heart had all but come  
To win the city, and to make it " Rome."  
Calm, of the antique grandeur, ripe to be  
Named with the noblest of her history.  
He would have Romanized your Rome—controlled  
Her glory, lordships, gods, in a new mould.  
Her spirits' fervor would have melted in  
The hundred cities with her ; made a twin  
Vesuvius and the Capitol ; and blended  
Strong Juvenal's with the soul, tender and splendid,  
Of Dante—smelted old with new alloy—  
Stormed at the 'Titans' road full of bold joy  
Whereby men storm Olympus. Italy,  
Weep !—This man could have made one Rome of thee !  
—V. HUGO, *translated by* SIR E. ARNOLD.







THE life of Kaiser Wilhelm I., prolonged to fourscore and ten years, comprised a strangely varied pilgrimage. It commenced in discomfort, and even penury, consequent upon national disaster, and culminated in the fulfillment of German unity and the title of German Emperor.

William was the second son of Frederic William, Crown Prince of Prussia, and Louisa, Princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, noted for her graces, virtues, and brave endurance of misfortunes. He was born

at Berlin on the 22d of March, 1797. His baptismal name was Friedrich Ludwig Wilhelm, and among his many sponsors were the Emperor and Empress of Russia and the Prince and Princess of Orange. He was a very weakly child, and was reared with great difficulty. After a time his increased strength and vitality amply repaid all the care and attention bestowed on him. A few months after the prince's birth his father succeeded to the crown of Prussia as Frederic William III. In the course of a few years he was a king without a kingdom. In 1806 he had been induced to declare war against France. The crushing defeats of Jena, Eylau and Fried-



—VA—VI—XXX

EMPEROR WILLIAM I. AND HIS SUITE.



land followed, and the Prussians had to submit to the indignity of a French occupation of Berlin for three years. Thus the young prince grew up in the gloom of his country's humiliation, and the dark shadows of Napoleonic domination.

Prussian princes are born soldiers; the young princes join the military service as soon as they can becomingly don the uniform. This happened to William when he was about six years of age. Then he, and his elder brother, and their cousin, Prince Frederic, were added as three recruits to the Prussian army. The two princes began their military training under Sergeant Bennstein, who drilled them daily. In the science of war, they had tuition from Generals Von Scharnhorst and Von Knessebeck, while Savigny, the celebrated international jurist, undertook the office of instructor in law. Later, under Von Pirch, Prince William went through all the military duties of infantry, cavalry, artillery and engineers, and displayed a special aptitude for engineering.

Although made a first-lieutenant in the spring of 1812, and captain soon after, the prince did not join his regiment in active service till the first day of the year 1814, when he crossed the Rhine at Mannheim in his father's staff. On the 27th of February, of the same year, he received his "baptism of fire" at Bar-sur-Aube, and behaved with such coolness and courage that the Emperor of Russia conferred on him the cross of St. George, while his royal father bestowed on him the iron cross, a decoration prized more than any other by Prussian soldiers. On the 31st of March, 1814, Prince William accompanied his father and the Russian Emperor in their triumphal entry into Paris. When news of the victory of Waterloo arrived, the prince was preparing again to cross the French frontier at the head of a battalion of fusiliers of the First regiment of the guard.

Then followed a period of peace, and Prussia began her work of consolidation under the direction of the king and the celebrated minister, Von Stein. In 1817 Prince William was promoted to the rank of colonel of the First Foot Guards, and in 1818 was advanced to the rank of major-general. After this he led a very active life, and as commander of a corps d'armée took a leading part in the improvement of the army.

On the 11th of June, 1829, William married the Princess Marie Louisa Augusta, one of the daughters of the Grand Duke Charles Frederic, of Saxe-Weimar, and granddaughter of the Emperor Paul of Russia. At a Prussian court ball, in 1834, two young men of unusual stature were introduced to the prince by the master of ceremonies. The taller of the two was Bismarck, who was at that time a lawyer practicing in the Berlin courts.

On the death of the old, homely, well-meaning Frederic III., the crown-prince became king as Frederic William IV., and William, as heir-presumptive, took the titular rank of "Prince of Prussia." In 1847 he took his seat in the National Assembly, and offered vigorous opposition to the so-called "insolence of the modern parliamentary spirit."

When the revolution broke out in Berlin, March, 1848, the Prince of Prussia was an object of detestation to the popular party. Being requested by his brother to quit Berlin within twenty-four hours, he retired first to Potsdam, and ten days after to London, where he stayed two months. In 1849 he commanded the army which crushed the rebellion in Baden, and was made military governor of the Rhineland and Westphalia. In 1858, in consequence of his brother's insanity, William became regent.

In January, 1861, King Frederic William died, and the Prince of Prussia succeeded to the throne as William I. His first care was the reorganization of the military system. He had taken care to surround himself with capable men. Among these were Moltke, his own nephew Prince Frederick Charles, Manteuffel, Falckenstein, Hindersin, and the shrewd and clear-headed Roon. But he still needed a minister resolute enough, and perhaps not over-scrupulous, to enable him to effect the object on which he was determined. Such a man he found in Otto von Bismarck, who was accordingly placed at the head of the new ministry of 1862, while Roon retained the portfolio of minister of war.

The first-fruit of the new ministry was seen in the Danish war of 1864, in which Austria was induced to help Prussia to Schleswig-Holstein, without receiving any reward for the service. In 1866 the brilliant seven weeks' Bohemian campaign,



in which Austria was dismissed from Germany, added greatly to William's power and prestige. The total acquisitions of Prussia on the close of this war amounted to more than 6,500 square miles of territory, with a population exceeding 4,000,000. In addition to this, the states with which she had been at war paid her a large indemnity. The great Franco-German war of 1870, with its astounding victories of Gravelotte and Sedan and the capture of Metz, was fraught with consequences still more momentous to Germany. By it Alsace and Lorraine were annexed, and France was obliged to pay a war indemnity of five milliards of francs. While the armies of the Fatherland were still on French soil, after the capitulation of Paris, King William was proclaimed Emperor of Germany by the assembled German princes and representatives of the free cities, in the splendid Mirror Hall of Louis XIV., at Versailles, on the 18th day of January, 1871. He returned to Berlin in triumph on the 16th of June.

Prussia had now become the first power in Germany, and Germany the first power in Europe. For these momentous changes William was indebted to the genius of Prince Bismarck and Marshal Von Moltke, to whom he entrusted the direction of the chief affairs of the country and empire. Meantime the Socialists were very active, and twice they made direct attempts on the emperor's life. Yet his supreme wish was the good of his people, and he shrank from no sacrifice for their sake. At last all classes appeared to recognize the uprightness and nobility of his character and rendered him unfeigned homage. He lived to see his great-grandchildren. He died March 9, 1888. He was the oldest sovereign in the world, and one of the most striking figures of the nineteenth century.

#### THE HEAD OF THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE.

The Emperor William I. reached the highest pinnacle of worldly fame gradually in one continual rising progress, showing himself equal to every new task as it came before him. The man who united Germany, and gave her for the first time for centuries the unsullied joy of victory, has only sunk to rest to unite a whole people in sorrow round his grave.

In the years during which the character of man is supposed to shape itself, his highest ambition could scarcely have exceeded the hope of commanding the troops of his father or of his brother. In these years he lived in retirement, sharing the views of Prussia's best intellect, that the Constitution of federal Germany was as unsatisfactory as the state of her west frontier, and that only a last decisive struggle could give the German nation independence. He held on to this hope, and saw clearly that only a strong Prussia would be able to break the pressure of powerful surrounding States, and fulfill the national destiny.

Thus he became a soldier heart and soul, loved for his personal amiability, and feared for his severity in matters of discipline, which showed even the humblest subaltern that an exacting and stern eye was upon him. Others slightly mistook for useless play-soldiering what was in reality a deep political game.

The revolution broke out. A rabid hate, a storm of misconception, poured over his head and drove him into exile; only the army that knew him never wavered in its devotion, and at the bivouac fires in Schleswig-Holstein the soldiers sang:

“ Prince of Prussia, brave and true,  
Return and cheer thy troops anew,  
Much beloved general.”

And when he returned from the exile which he had accepted for his brother's sake, he honestly and unreservedly co-operated in the spirit of the new order of things.

Years afterwards, the illness of Frederick William IV. put him at the head of affairs. Two years later the death of the king placed the crown on his head. After short days of popular joy and uncertain expectation, he had to feel the fitful character of popular favor and to begin that battle which, as heir to the throne, he had foreseen—the battle for his own work, the re-organization of the army. The hatred of party grew to such intensity as was only possible among the descendants of the sufferers by the Thirty Years' War; the German comic papers even represented this manly, true-hearted soldier's face as that of a tiger. The struggle reached such a

height that only the decisive power of military success could cut the knot and prove the rights of the monarch.

And these successes came in those memorable seven years which summed up the results of two centuries of Prussian history. Blow after blow, all these questions found their solution, to the attainment of which the diplomacy of Prussia had worked for generations.

The last of German boundaries in the North was torn from Scandinavian grasp; the battle of Sadowa secured what had been missed at Kolin, the liberation of Germany from the hegemony of the House of Austria. Then at last, by a sequence of unrivalled victories, the coronation at Versailles set the seal on and exceeded what in days gone by the men of 1813 had fondly hoped for.

Gratefully the Prussians recognized that their institutions were now more safeguarded than ever under a powerful sovereign; for, immediately after the war of 1866, the king, who had shown himself to be so thoroughly in the right, voluntarily offered atonement for the technical breach of the Constitution, and not a word of bitterness ever came to his lips to call up the differences of the past. The whole German people had for the first time gained the feeling of national pride and, in the joy of their new condition, forgotten the discord of centuries.

Through all these wondrous events—events that might have intoxicated even the brain of the most sober—King William comes before us unchanged in kindliness, firmness, and modesty. He himself believed that only a short span would be granted him to see the first beginning of the new order of things. But it was ordained otherwise, and far more beneficially. Not only did he live to complete the legal groundwork of the new empire, but to add to the stability of the edifice by the power of his individuality. At first the allied German princes only saw a diminution of their own power in the new order of things. But soon they learnt to regard it as an extra guarantee of their own rights; for one of their own number it was who wore the crown, and his fidelity was a bond of safety for all. Thus through the emperor's doing, and even against the opinion expressed by Bismarck,

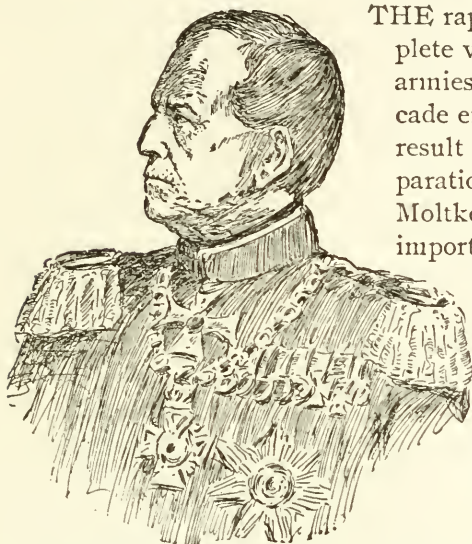
it came to pass that the Bundesrath, which at first had been looked upon as the seed-bed of dissension, in a few short years became the most reliable guarantee of unity, whilst the Reichstag drifted into a helpless plaything of parties.

The emperor never possessed a confidant who advised him on every subject. With rare knowledge of mankind, he discovered the best men to advise and assist him. With the freedom from envy only belonging to a great heart, he left full scope to those he had tried, but each one, even Bismarck, only in his own department. He always remained emperor, by whose hands alone were held all the threads of power.

Europe came to look upon the old warrior as the guardian of the peace of the world. At home the strong monarchical character of his government was confirmed year by year. The personal will of the sovereign wielded its good right side by side with that of Parliament, and now with the warm approval of better informed public opinion. The Germans knew that their emperor always did what was right and necessary, and in his simple, unadorned language always "said what was to be said," as Goethe has it. Even in fields of effort for which he had originally no natural bent his innate discernment soon found its bearings. How much the ideal work of the nation owes to him! Yet among artists and men of science he never distinguished an unworthy one.—H. VON TREITSCHKE.



# MARSHAL VON MOLTKE.



THE rapid movement and complete victories of the Prussian armies in the wars of the decade ending in 1871, were the result of the thorough preparation made by Count von Moltke. Never before had the importance of careful study of the field and previous adjustment of the means been so completely illustrated. Moltke's success put the scientific knowledge of the staff-officer above the dashing bravery of the general.

Helmuth Carl Bernhard von Moltke was born at Parchim, in Mecklenburg, on the 26th of October, 1800. In that minor German State his family had long been established, and in its army his father was an officer. Yet in his childhood they removed to Holstein, and Helmuth was trained in the military school at Copenhagen. For a time he was a lieutenant in the Danish service; but a visit to Berlin filled him with a desire to join the Prussian army. He soon obtained leave and entered it as second lieutenant in 1822. He became a staff-officer ten years later, and when he visited Constantinople, in 1835, the Sultan Mahmoud saw in the thoroughly trained Prussian the man he needed for reorganizing his army, and planning the defence of his empire. Therefore Moltke spent four years in Turkey, during half of which he was with the army in



Asia Minor. He ventured into Mesopotamia and took part in the campaigns in Syria against Mehemet Ali. In the battle of Nisib, which the Turks had fought against his advice, he lost all his baggage. On his return to Prussia he published *Letters* detailing his observations and experiences. He was married in 1842, and on his wedding-day was appointed by the king major on the general staff.

Moltke's next foreign trip was in 1845, when he was made adjutant to Prince Henry of Prussia, who was obliged to go to Italy for the sake of his health. The opportunity to study the city of Rome and its environs was improved, and the result appeared in a topographical map and some more letters. The prince died in July, 1846, and Moltke returned with his body to Berlin. He then made a journey in Spain, whence he returned to a quiet farm-life on an estate which he had purchased at Creisau. He retained his staff-connection, however, and in 1848 he became chief of staff of the Fourth army corps at Magdeburg. In 1854 some drawings of his attracted the attention of Frederic William, then Prince of Prussia, who procured for him an appointment as senior aide-de-camp. In this capacity Baron von Moltke attended the Crown Prince when he was married to Victoria, Princess Royal of England. He also paid two other visits to England. The prince becoming regent in 1857, appointed General von Moltke chief of staff of the whole army. The latter henceforth devoted himself to increasing and perfecting the efficiency of this department. By him and his subordinates the great problems of mobilizing and concentrating on any desired spot the scattered corps were thoroughly wrought out. The proper distribution of supplies and stores of all kinds with reference to possible movements was carefully planned.

At last came the opportunity to prove how thoroughly the lesson had been taught and learned. Prussia declared war in 1864 against Denmark to enforce the claims to Schleswig-Holstein as belonging to the German Confederation. Prince Frederic Charles, the Red Prince, took the field, but General Moltke had already drawn up a plan of the campaign, which was almost exactly carried out until Denmark relinquished the disputed territory. In this war Austria was an ally and

had furnished part of the forces. But hardly had it ended, when jealousy arose between the two leading powers. It was evident that another war must be fought to decide their dispute, and in the summer of 1866 Prussia took the initiative in invading Bohemia. Again so well planned was the advance that the main army, under King William, first gained the overwhelming victory of Sadowa (or Königgratz), then pushed on boldly to Olmutz, and threatened Vienna. The Seven Weeks' War not only destroyed the supremacy of Austria, but expelled it from the German Confederation.

The crowning triumph of Moltke's career was yet to come. The rapid rise of Prussia excited the apprehension of Napoleon III. for the prestige of France. Though that country, its army and its sovereign were all unfit to cope with their opponents, flushed with victory, war was hastily provoked. But again Moltke had made complete plans and all necessary preparations. Some deviations were, of course, unavoidable, yet the invading army moved forward on the predetermined line of attack. Even the armies sent by Bavaria and other South German States were enabled by careful observance of the plans to concentrate with the Prussians in most effective operations. On the day of the capitulation of Metz, October 28, 1870, King William showed his sense of General Moltke's services by creating him a count. When the Prussian army returned in triumph to Berlin in September, 1871, the count was further honored by being made chief Marshal of the new German Empire.

Thenceforth the veteran lived a quiet life, enjoying the honors due to his successful career. Yet he kept a watchful eye on public affairs and the movements in nations around. The thorough system which he had organized, and the skillful subordinates whom he had trained were well qualified to maintain the military prestige of Germany. On 9th of March, 1888, Emperor William died, and the aged Field-Marshal took the oath of allegiance to his successor, Frederic, who had been intimately associated with him on many important occasions. After Frederic's brief reign of a hundred days, the veteran took the oath to his young son. But on the 3d of August, 1888, he felt compelled by the burden and infirmities of age to resign

his commission as chief of staff. The emperor graciously accepted the resignation, and appointed the aged soldier president of the committee for national defence. Field-marshal Von Moltke's ninetieth birthday was celebrated with great enthusiasm, especially at Berlin, where the emperor attended by the German princes personally congratulated him. On the 24th of April, 1891, the Field-Marshal went out as usual, but after his return had an attack of asthma and died.

Throughout his long life Count von Moltke was noted for his simple, unpretending ways, his earnest desire to do his duty, his patriotism and loyalty. His name is connected inseparably with the formation of the new German Empire. The victories which led to that stupendous change in European affairs were due to his prudent advice, thorough preparation and great deeds.

#### THE BATTLE OF SEDAN.

(September 1st, 1870.)

Marshal MacMahon having been struck by a splinter from a shell at La Moncelle at 6 A.M., nominated General Ducrot as his successor in command, passing over the claims of two senior leaders. When General Ducrot received the news at seven o'clock, he issued orders for concentrating the army at Illy, and for an immediate retreat upon Mézières. Of his own corps he dispatched Lartigue's division to cover the passage at Daigny; Lacretelle and Bassoigne were ordered to assume the offensive against the Bavarians and Saxons, so as to gain time for the rest of the troops to retire. The divisions forming the second line immediately began to move towards the north.

The Minister of War had appointed General von Wimpffen, recently back from Algiers, to the command of the Fifth Corps, and had also empowered him to assume the chief command in case the Marshal should be disabled. General von Wimpffen knew the army of the Crown Prince to be in the neighborhood of Donchery; he regarded the retreat to Mézières as an impossibility, and was bent on the diametrically opposite course of forcing his way to Carignan, not doubting that he could rout the Bavarians and Saxons, and so effect a junction

with Marshal Bazaine. When he heard of the orders just issued by General Ducrot, and, at the same time, observed that an assault upon the Germans in La Moncelle seemed to turn in his favor, he determined, in an evil hour, to exercise his authority. General Ducrot submitted without any remonstrance; he was perhaps not averse to being relieved of so heavy a responsibility. The divisions of the second line who were about to start were ordered back; and the weak advance of the Bavarians and Saxons was soon hard pressed by the first line, who at once attacked them.

By 7 A.M. one regiment of the Saxon advanced guard had marched to the taking of La Moncelle; the other had been busy with the threatening advance of Lartigue's division on the right. Here the firing soon became very hot. The regiment had marched without knapsacks, and neglected previously to take out their cartridges. Thus they soon ran short of ammunition, and the repeated and violent onslaught of the Zouaves, directed principally against the unprotected right, had to be repulsed with the bayonet. On the left a strong artillery line had gradually been formed, and by half-past eight o'clock amounted to twelve batteries. But Lacrosette's division was now approaching on the Givonne lowlands, and dense swarms of *tirailleurs* forced the German batteries to retire at about nine o'clock. The gunners withdrew to some distance, but then turned about and re-opened fire on the French, and after driving them back into the valley returned to their original position. The Fourth Bavarian Brigade had meanwhile reached La Moncelle, and the Forty-sixth Saxon Brigade was coming up, so the small progress made by Bassoigne's division was checked. The right wing of the Saxon contingent, which had been hardly pressed, now received much-needed support from the Twenty-fourth Division, and they at once assumed the offensive. The French were driven back upon Daigny, and lost five guns in the struggle. Then joining the Bavarians, who were pushing on through the valley to the northward, after a sharp fight, Daigny, the bridge and farmstead of La Rapaille were taken.

It was now about 10 A.M., and the Guards had arrived at the Upper Givonne. They had started before it was light,

marching in two columns, when the sound of heavy firing reached them from Bazeilles and caused them to quicken their step. In order to render assistance by the shortest road, the left column would have to cross two deep ravines and the pathless wood of Chevallier, so they chose the longer route by Villers-Cernay, which the head of the right column had passed in ample time to take part in the contest between the Saxons and Lartigue's division, and to capture two French guns. The divisions ordered back by General Ducrot had already resumed their position at the western slope, and the Fourteenth Battery of the Guards now opened fire upon them from the east. At the same hour the Fourth Corps and the Seventh Division had arrived at Lamécourt, and the Eighth at Rémyilly, both situated below Bazeilles; the advanced guard of the Eighth stood at the Rémyilly railway station.

The first attempt of the French to break through to Cagnan eastwards had proved a failure, and their retreat to Mézières on the west had also been cut off, for the Fifth and Eleventh Corps of the Third Army, together with the Würtemberg division, had received orders to move northward by that route. These troops had struck camp before daybreak, and at six o'clock had crossed the Meuse at Donchery, and by the three pontoon bridges further down the river. The advanced patrols found the road to Mézières clear of the enemy, and the heavy shelling, heard from the direction of Bazeilles, made it appear probable that the French had accepted battle in their position at Sedan. The Crown Prince, therefore, ordered the two corps, that had arrived at Brigne, to march to the right on St. Menges; the Würtembergers were to remain to keep watch over Mézières. General von Kirchback then pointed out Fleigneux to his advanced guard as the next objective, to cut off the retreat of the French into Belgium, and maintain a connection with the right wing of the Army of the Meuse.

The narrow roadway between the hills and the river leading to St. Albert, about two thousand paces distant, was neither held nor watched by the French. It was not till the advanced guard reached St. Menges that they encountered a French detachment, which soon withdrew. The Germans



then deployed in the direction of Illy, two companies on the right taking possession of Floing, where they kept up a gallant defence for two hours without assistance against repeated attacks.

The first Prussian batteries that arrived had to exert themselves to the utmost to hold out against the larger force of French artillery drawn up at Illy. At first they were only protected by cavalry and a few companies of infantry, and as this cavalry managed to issue from the defile of St. Albert, it found itself the misleading object of attack, for the Margueritte Cavalry Division halted on the Illy plateau. General Galiffet, commander of the division, at nine o'clock formed his three regiments of Chasseurs d'Afrique and two squadrons of Lancers into three divisions, and gave the order to charge. Two companies of the Eighty-seventh Regiment were the first in the line; they allowed the cavalry to approach within sixty paces, and then fired a volley which failed to stop them. The First Division rode on a little further, then wheeled outward to both flanks, and came upon the fire of the supports established in the copse. The Prussian batteries, too, sent a shower of shrapnel into their midst, when they finally retired to seek protection in the Bois de Garenne, while a trail of dead and wounded marked their way.

About half an hour later, and at the same time when the assaults of the French in Bazeilles and at Daigny were being repulsed, fourteen batteries of the Eleventh Corps were erected on and beside the hill range southeast of St. Menges; those of the Fifth Corps were soon added to this artillery park. Thus, with the powerful infantry columns advancing upon Fleigneux, the investing line drawn around Sedan was nearly completed. The Bavarian corps and the artillery reserves remaining on the left embankment of the Meuse, were considered strong enough to repel any attempt of the French to break through in that direction. Five corps were standing on the right bank, ready for concentric attack. The Bavarians and Saxons, reinforced by the advanced guard of the Fourth Corps, issued from the burning town of Bazeilles and from Moncelle, and drove sections of the French Twelfth Corps, in spite of a stubborn resistance, from the east of Balan back

to Fond de Givonne. Having thus taken possession of the spur of Illy, while awaiting a fresh attack of the French, the most necessary step now was to reform the troops, which were in much confusion.

As soon as this was done the Fifth Bavarian Brigade advanced on Balan. The troops found but a feeble resistance in the village itself; but it was only after a hard fight that they were allowed to occupy the park of the castle, situated at the extreme end. From thence, soon after midday, the foremost battalion got close to the walls of the fortress, and exchanged shots with the garrison. The French were now trying to take up a position at Fond de Givonne, and a steady fire was opened on both sides. At 1 P.M. the French had evidently received reinforcements, and when, after the artillery and mitrailleuses had done some preliminary work, they assumed the offensive, the Fifth Bavarian Brigade was driven back for some little distance, but, assisted by the Sixth, regained its old position after an hour's hard fighting. Meanwhile the Saxon corps had spread itself in the northern part of the valley towards Givonne. There the foremost companies of the Guards were already established, as also in Haybés. The Prussian artillery forced the French batteries to change their positions more than once, and several of them had already gone out of action. To gain an opening here, the French repeatedly tried to send ahead large bodies of tirailleurs, and ten guns were got into Givonne, after it had been occupied, but these were taken before they could unlimber. The Prussian shells also fell with some effect among the French troops massed in the Bois de la Garenne, though fired from a long range.

After the Franc-tireurs de Paris had been driven out of Chapelle, the cavalry of the Guard advanced through Givonne and up the valley, and at noon the hussars had succeeded in establishing a connection with the left wing of the Third Army. The Forty-seventh Brigade of that body had left Fleigneux to ascend the upper valley of the Givonne, and the retreat of the French from Illy in a southern direction had already begun. The Eighty-seventh Regiment seized eight guns that were being worked, and captured thirty baggage

wagons with their teams and hundreds of cavalry horses wandering riderless. The cavalry of the advanced guard of the Fifth Corps captured General Brahaut and his staff, besides a great number of infantry and one hundred and fifty pack horses, together with forty ammunition and transport wagons.

At Floing there was also an attempt on the part of the French to break through; but the originally very insufficient infantry posts at that point had gradually been strengthened, and the French were driven from the locality as quickly as they had entered. And now the fire from the twenty-six batteries of the Army of the Meuse was joined by that of the Guards' batteries, which took up their position at the eastern slope of the Givonne valley. The effect was overwhelming. The French batteries were destroyed and many ammunition wagons exploded.

General von Wimpffen at first thought the advance of the Germans from the north a mere feint, but recognized his mistake when he himself proceeded to the spot towards noon. He therefore ordered the two divisions in the second line, which was behind the Givonne front of the First Corps, to return to the height above Illy and support General Douay. On rejoining the Twelfth Corps he found it in full retreat on Sedan, and urgently requested General Douay to dispatch assistance in the direction of Bazeilles. Maussion's brigade proceeded thither at once, followed by Dumont's, as their position in the front had been taken by Conseil Dumesnil's division. All these marches and counter-marches were executed in the space south of the Bois de Garenne under fire of the German artillery on two sides. The retreat of the cavalry heightened the confusion, and several battalions returned to the doubtful protection of the forest. General Douay, it is true, when reinforced by sections of the Fifth Corps, retook the Calvaire, but was forced to abandon it by two o'clock; the forest, at the back of the Calvaire, was then shelled by sixty guns of the Guards.

Liébert's division alone had up to now maintained its very strong position on the hills north of Casal. The assembling in sufficient strength of the German Fifth and Eleventh Corps at Floing, could only be effected very gradually. At one

o'clock, however, part of them began to scale the hill immediately before them, while others went round to the south towards Gaulier and Casal, and more marched down from Fleigneux. These troops became so intermixed that no detailed orders could be given; a fierce contest was carried on for a long time with varying fortunes. The French division, attacked on both flanks, and also shelled, at last gave way, and the reserves of the Seventh Corps having already been called off to other parts of the battle-field, the French cavalry once more devoted themselves to the rescue.

General Margueritte, with five regiments of light horse, and two of lancers, charged out of the Bois de Garennes. He fell among the first, severely wounded, and General Galliffet took his place. The charge was over very treacherous ground, and even before they could attack, the ranks were broken by the heavy flanking fire of the Prussian batteries. Still, with thinned numbers, but unflagging determination, the squadrons charged on the Forty-third Infantry Brigade and its reinforcements hurrying along from Fleigneux. Part of the German infantry on the hill-side were lying under cover, others were fully exposed in groups of more or less strength. Their foremost lines were broken through at several points, and a detachment of these brave troops forced their way past eight guns, through a hot fire, but the reserves beyond checked their further progress. A troop of cuirassiers, issuing from Gaulier, fell on the German rear, but encountering the Prussian hussars in the Meuse valley, galloped off northward. Other detachments forced their way through the infantry as far as the narrow way by St. Albert, where the battalions holding it gave them a warm reception; others again entered Floing only to succumb to the Fifth Jägers, who fell on them front and rear. These attacks were repeated by the French, again and again, and the murderous turmoil lasted for half an hour with steadily diminishing success for the French. The volleys of the infantry fired at short range strewed the whole field with dead and wounded. Many fell into the quarries or over the steep precipices, a few may have escaped by swimming the Meuse; and scarcely more than half of these brave troops were left to return to the protection of the fortress. But this

magnificent sacrifice of the splendid French cavalry could not change the fate of the day. The Prussian infantry had lost but few in cut-and-thrust encounters, and at once resumed the attack against Liébert's division. But in this onslaught they sustained heavy losses; for instance, the three battalions of the Sixth Regiment had to be commanded by lieutenants. Casal was stormed, and the French, after a spirited resistance, withdrew at about three o'clock to their last refuge, the Bois de Garennes.

When, between one and two o'clock, the fighting round Bazeilles at first took a favorable turn for his army, General von Wimpffen returned to his original plan of overthrowing the Bavarians, exhausted by a long struggle, and making his way to Carignan with the First, Fifth, and Twelfth Corps; while the Seventh Corps was to cover their rear. But the orders issued to that effect never reached the generals in command, or arrived so late that circumstances forbade their being carried out.

In consequence of his previous orders, Bassoigne's division with those of Goze and Grandchamp had remained idle. Now, at 3 P.M., the two last-named advanced from Fond-de-Givonne, over the eastern ridge, and the Twenty-third Saxon Division, which was marching in the valley on the left bank of the Givonne, found itself suddenly attacked by the compact French battalions and batteries, but with the aid of the left wing of the Guards and the artillery thundering from the eastern slope, they soon repulsed the French, and even followed them up back to Fond-de-Givonne. The energy of the French appears to have been exhausted, for they allowed themselves to be taken prisoners by hundreds. As soon as the hills on the west of the Givonne had been secured, the German artillery established itself there, and by three o'clock twenty-one batteries stood in line between Bazeilles and Haybés.

Bois de Garennes, where many corps of all arms had found refuge and were wandering about, still remained to be taken. After a short cannonade the First Division of Guards ascended the hills from Givonne, and were joined by the Saxon battalions, the left wing of the Third Army at the same time pressing forward from Illy. A wild turmoil ensued, some of the



French offered violent resistance, others surrendered by thousands at a time, but not until five o'clock were the Germans masters of the fortress.

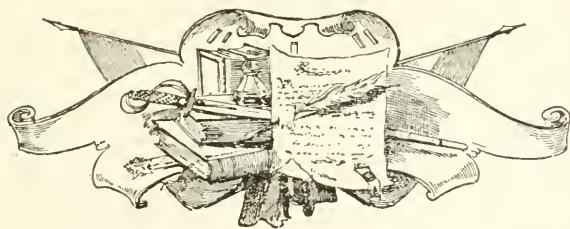
Meanwhile long columns of French could be seen pouring down on Sedan from all the neighboring hills. Irregular bands of troops were massed in and around the walls of the fortress, and shells from the German batteries on both sides of the Meuse were constantly exploding in their midst. Columns of fire soon began to rise from the city, and the Bavarians, who had gone round to Torcy, were about to climb the palisades at the gate when, at about half-past four, flags of truce were hoisted on the towers.

The Emperor Napoleon had refused to join with General von Wimpffen in his attempt to break through the German lines; he had, on the contrary, desired him to parley with the enemy. On the order being renewed, the French suddenly ceased firing. General Reille now made his appearance in the presence of the King, who had watched the action since early in the day from the hill south of Frénois. He was the bearer of an autograph letter from the Emperor, whose presence in Sedan had till now been unknown. He placed his sword in the hands of the King, but as this was only an act of personal submission, the answer given to his letter demanded that an officer should be dispatched hither, fully empowered to treat with General von Moltke as to the surrender of the French army. This sorrowful duty was imposed on General von Wimpffen, who was in no way responsible for the desperate straits into which the army had been brought.

The negotiations were held at Donchery during the night between the first and second of September. The Germans were forced to consider that they must not forego the advantage gained over so powerful an enemy as France. When it was remembered that the French had regarded the victory of German arms over other nationalities in the light of an insult, any act of untimely generosity might lead them to forget their own defeat. The only course to pursue was to insist upon the disarmament and detention of the entire army, but the officers were to be free on parole. General von Wimpffen declared it impossible to accept such hard conditions; the negotiations

were broken off, and the French officers returned to Sedan at one o'clock. Before their departure they were given to understand that unless these terms were agreed to by nine o'clock next morning, the bombardment would be renewed. Thus the capitulation was signed by General von Wimpffen on the morning of the second, further resistance being obviously impossible.

This splendid victory had cost the Germans 460 officers and 8,500 men. The French losses were far greater; 17,000 were killed, the work principally of the strong force of German artillery. Twenty-one thousand Frenchmen were taken prisoners in the course of the action, 83,000 surrendered; 104,000 in all. With the surrender of this army, Imperialism in France was extinct.—H. B. VON MOLTKE.





VASCO DA GAMA, the celebrated Portuguese navigator and discoverer, was born at Sines, about the year 1460. Hearing of the possibility of reaching the eastern countries by rounding the southern extremity of Africa, the Portuguese king, João II., determined to fit out an expedition to verify the reports. Ill health of the king and affairs of state interfered with the intended expedition, and

it was not till Manoel succeeded to the throne, after a delay of ten years, that the preparations for the voyage were completed.

Command of the fleet of four ships was given to Vasco da Gama, then a gentleman of the king's household, who had gained distinction as a skillful and fearless mariner. On the 8th of July, 1497, the fleet left Lisbon for the Cape Verd islands, whence it sailed, on August 3d, southward along the coast of Africa. In November the Cape of Good Hope was rounded in safety, and in April of the next year they reached Melinda. A pilot, given by the king of Melinda, conducted the fleet across the Indian Ocean. Twenty-three days later they saw the Malabar coast, and on May 20 arrived at Calicut, where Gama erected a marble pillar as a mark of conquest. A cordial reception was extended to Gama by the court, but the Arabian merchants, who foresaw that their trade would eventually be taken from them, incited the Zamorin, or ruler

of Calicut, against the new-comers, and it was with difficulty that they escaped.

Assured of the wealth of the country, Vasco da Gama immediately set sail for home, where he arrived in September, 1499. The king received him with honor, granted him the title of "lord of the conquest of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India," ordered fêtes in the principal towns of the kingdom, "for he had brought back (not without severe loss in ships and in men) the solution of a great problem, which was destined to raise his country to the acme of prosperity." The king immediately sent out another fleet of thirteen ships to India under Alvarez Cabral. By sailing too far to the west, he accidentally discovered Brazil. A factory was established at Calicut; but as soon as Cabral sailed, the Hindoos, roused again by the Arabians, murdered all the Portuguese left behind. To avenge this the Portuguese government, in 1502, sent out a fleet of ten ships under Gama. Calicut was bombarded, and horrible deeds of inhumanity were perpetrated, which have left a stain upon the character of Gama which even his fame cannot efface. Later he sailed to Cochin, and succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the king, and in making favorable trading terms there and in other coast towns. On his way homeward he encountered the Calicut fleet, which he completely routed. He reached Lisbon in September, 1503, with well-laden vessels. The king granted him great favors, made him admiral of the Indian ocean, and one of the principal men of his kingdom. For the next twenty years Gama lived in retirement in Evora, and took no active part in public affairs. In the meantime, the Portuguese conquests in the East had continued, and successive viceroys were appointed to protect the Portuguese interests.

Evils of different kinds were creeping into the government in India, and in 1524 Gama was called from seclusion by João III., created count of Vidigueira, and chosen viceroy of India. On arriving at Goa he began to correct with firmness the misrule of his predecessors; his reforms were cut short, however, by his death a few months later. He was buried in the Franciscan monastery, at Cochin; his body was removed to Portugal in 1538, and entombed with due pomp and honor.

## THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

In 1486, John II., King of Portugal, determined to make a grand effort to complete the circuit of the African coast. He placed three vessels under the command of Bartholomew Diaz, whom he strictly enjoined, if possible, to reach and pass the southern boundary of that continent. This officer, having arrived at the mouth of the Congo by a course now easy and ascertained, began thence his career of discovery. He adopted the odd contrivance of carrying with him four negro damsels well clothed, and furnished with gold and silver ornaments, toys, and spices, whom he landed at different points of the coast, that they might spread brilliant reports of the wealth and power of the Portuguese. He gave names, as he went along, to remarkable bays and capes; and at St. Jago, 120 leagues beyond the Congo, erected a pillar of stone to denote the dominion of the king and of the cross. He passed successively the bays of the Landing, of Isles, and of Windings; the last name being given on account of the many changes of course which during five days the sinuosity of the coast and adverse gales obliged him to make.

The stormy weather drove him out to sea in a southern direction, where his frail barks seemed scarcely fitted to live amid the tempestuous billows by which they were surrounded. After a voyage too along the burning shores of Guinea, the Portuguese felt intensely the cold blasts of the Antarctic seas. They considered themselves as lost; when after thirteen days the tempest abated, and they sought, by steering eastward, to regain the land; but they were already beyond the farthest point of Africa, and they saw nothing before them except the unbounded ocean. Surprised and bewildered, they turned towards the north, and at length reached the coast at a point which proved to be eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. They called it "the Bay of Cows," from the large herds seen feeding, but which the natives immediately drove into the interior. Diaz steered onwards till he came to a small island, where he planted another pillar or ensign of dominion.

A general murmur now arose among his exhausted and dispirited crew. They urged that they had already dis-



covered enough land for one voyage, having sailed over more sea than had been traversed by any former expedition ; that their vessel was shattered, and their provisions drawing to a close. Diaz then called a council of his principal officers, who all agreed in the necessity of returning. The commander yielded with deep reluctance, and parted from the island where he had planted his last ensign "as a father parts from an exiled son." The Portuguese had not sailed far westward when they came in view of that mighty cape which had been vainly sought for so many ages, constituting, as it were, the boundary between two worlds. The commodore, from the storms he had endured in doubling it, named it the Cape of Tempests ; but on his return, the king, animated by a more sanguine spirit, bestowed the appellation, which it has ever since retained, of the Cape of Good Hope.

John died in 1495, before a new expedition could be fitted out ; but his cousin Emanuel, who succeeded him, displayed an ardor in this cause surpassing even that of all his predecessors. There were, indeed, not a few counsellors who represented that he would thus waste the resources of his kingdom in undertakings every way uncertain. The king, however, feeling that the task of penetrating to India descended to him by inheritance, applied himself with the utmost diligence to the fitting out of a grand expedition. Diaz was instructed to superintend the building of the ships, that they might be made of such size and strength as to be fit for traversing the stormy seas which he had experienced. The command, however, was bestowed, not upon him, but upon Vasco da Gama, a member of Emanuel's household, who had acquired a reputation for nautical skill and talent which his subsequent conduct fully confirmed. The preparations being completed, Gama was called before the king in presence of some of the most distinguished lords of the court, and presented with a silk banner, having attached to it the cross of the order of the knighthood of Christ, of which the king was perpetual master. On this token he was made to swear that he would, to the very utmost of his power, accomplish the voyage and fulfill its objects. The banner was then delivered to him, with a paper of instructions, and a letter to the mysterious prince

called Prester John of India, with whom it was not doubted that he would open some channel of intercourse.

On the day of embarkation, the captains and mariners repaired to the convent of Our Lady of Bethlehem, where the sacrament was administered to them; the monks walked to the ships in devout procession, bearing wax tapers, and uttering a prayer, echoed by the whole population of Lisbon, who flocked behind to witness the scene. The sailors then went through the ceremonies of confession and absolution, according to a form prepared by Prince Henry for those who should perish in these distant expeditions. They hastened on board and began to unfurl the sails; but when they saw the shore lined with their relations and dearest friends dissolved in grief, and felt themselves entering on a voyage so full of doubt and peril, while they looked alternately to the land that they were quitting and on the ocean into which they were advancing, they could not restrain a few natural tears as a tribute to the sympathies of the human heart.

Gama sailed on July 8th, 1497, with three good vessels, the "St. Gabriel" and "St. Raphael," commanded by himself and his brother Paulo, and the "Beiro," a caravel, under Nicolas Coelho. After sailing four months they had not yet reached the Cape. Vasco landed in a bay, which he called St. Helena, to obtain water and to make astronomical observations. Here, having espied two negroes, he caused them to be waylaid and brought before him; but they could hold no communication by words, and were besides in such agitation and alarm as to be unable to comprehend the signs of friendship which were liberally tendered. Gama hereupon desired two of his negro-servants to take them apart and give them abundance of food, of which when they had partaken their minds apparently underwent a happy change, and they pointed to a village two or three miles distant belonging to their countrymen. Fernando Veloso, a Portuguese, obtained permission to repair thither, and make observations on the natives. Not long after his departure, however, he was seen running back full speed, pursued by a large party of negroes. He found refuge in the boat, but several of the sailors were wounded with spears and assagais thrown by the savage assailants. Veloso then related

that he had been at first well received, but, observing some suspicious symptoms, he took to flight, and found his alarm fully justified by the event.

Da Gama, quitting this inhospitable shore, steered directly towards that grand promontory which he was now closely approaching, and the passing of which was to decide the fate of his voyage. Deep and solemn emotions filled the minds of the sailors as on the 18th of November they came near to the southern promontory of the African continent. They raised their courage to the highest pitch in order to face the tempests which they had been taught to expect in making the circuit of this formidable cape. As they proceeded, a moderate breeze from the south-west filled the sails; and, keeping well out to sea, they rounded without danger, and almost without effort, that mighty and dreaded barrier. With the sound of trumpets and loud acclamations they celebrated this memorable passage, which was to give a new character to the commercial policy of Europe.

The shore itself showed nothing of that forbidding aspect which rumor had announced; it was lofty indeed, but green and wooded, with numerous flocks feeding on the hills; though the deep recess which it enclosed on the eastern side could not be safely entered. Before them lay the unbounded expanse of the Indian Ocean; and Gama did not pause till he reached the Bay of St. Blas, called afterward by the Dutch Mossel Bay, where he landed to obtain water and refreshments. Scarcely had the boats touched the shore, when on the top of the neighboring hills ninety natives appeared, similar in aspect to those in the Bay of St. Helena. The Portuguese commander desired his men to approach cautiously and well armed, throwing to the savages a few bells and toys; upon which the latter came forward in the most familiar manner, and offered to exchange their cattle for such European commodities as attracted their eyes. Three days were employed in carrying on this barter, and also in various scenes of mirth and frolic, the natives performing on a species of rude pastoral flute, to the sound of which both parties danced. Yet, toward the close of the visit, suspicious symptoms began to appear. The people increased in numbers, and parties of them were seen

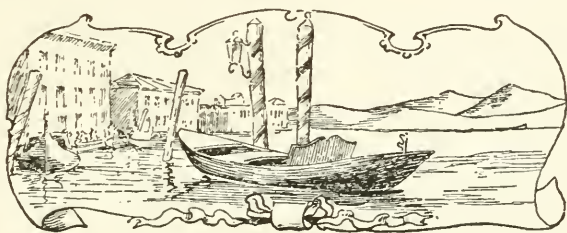
lying in ambush ; their attitude became more and more hostile, and they were observed closely watching every movement of the Portuguese. Gama, humanely and wisely desiring to avoid any hostile collision, dispersed them by merely firing a few balls over their heads, and proceeded on his voyage.

The navigators were soon after overtaken by a violent storm, the first they had encountered in those unknown seas. It was truly terrible, and in their despair they sought relief, according to De Barros, too exclusively in religious exercises, without employing sufficiently their own exertions to escape the pressing danger. However, the tempest having abated, the two ships rejoined each other, and proceeded cheerfully onwards. Having passed the coast called Natal, from the day on which it was discovered, they were tempted to land at the mouth of a fine river, where they were soon surrounded by a numerous band of natives. Alonzo, one of the sailors, having succeeded in making himself understood, received an invitation to their village, which he did not hesitate to accept. The huts of which it consisted were rudely built of straw, but comfortably fitted up ; he was treated with the greatest respect and kindness, and sent back next day under an escort of two hundred men. The chief came afterward with a large retinue to take a view of the ships, and the harmony continued uninterrupted during the five days that the Portuguese remained on the coast. Gama, delighted with this people, who belong to the comparatively improved race of the Caffres, distinguished their inlet as the River of Peace.

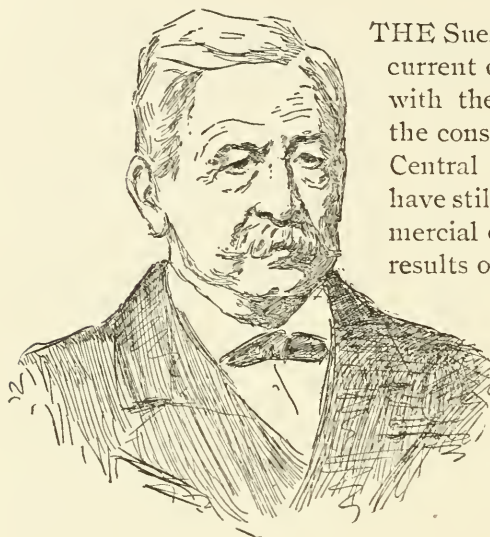
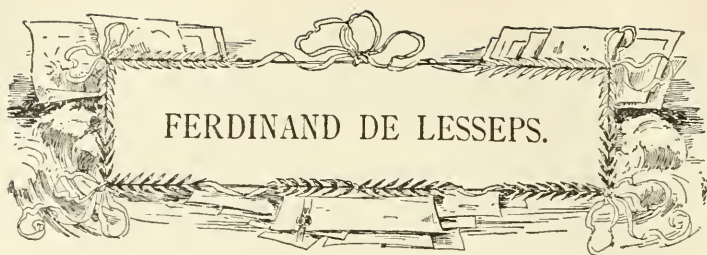
In navigating this coast, the admiral found the sea agitated by violent currents coming down the Mozambique Channel, which greatly impeded the progress of his ship. Having passed a bold cape, to which, in allusion to this fact, he gave the name of Corrientes, and seeing the land now trending rapidly to the westward, he steered out into the ocean. Thus he failed to discover Sofala, then the chief emporium of this part of Africa, enriched by the commerce of gold and ivory brought down the Zambeze. He came, however, to a river on whose banks were persons dressed in silk and blue cotton vestments, some of whom understood Martins, the Arabic interpreter.

They gave information that, towards the rising sun, there was a white nation who sailed in ships resembling those of the Portuguese, and were often seen passing and repassing. These symptoms of an approach to the civilized countries of the East greatly cheered Gama; and his vessels having been considerably shattered, he determined to spend some time here in refitting and preparing them for their arduous voyage across the Indian Ocean. His joy was dampened by an unexpected calamity; the crews were attacked by a disease of unknown and terrible symptoms,—putrid spots overspreading the body,—the mouth filled with flesh which did not seem to belong to it,—the limbs unable to move,—exhaustion and debility of the whole frame. This appears to be the first mention of scurvy, since so fatally known to mariners. Several fell victims to it, the others were cured by means, it was supposed, of medicines brought from Lisbon, but more probably by the use of the fresh meat and vegetables with which they were supplied from the shore.

The armament again set sail from this river, to which the admiral gave the name of "Good Signs," on the 24th of February, 1498, and in five days came to a port formed by two small islands, about a league from the mainland. This he learned was called Mozambique, a place of considerable trade, then subject to Quiloa, but since distinguished as the capital of the Portuguese settlements in Eastern Africa. Here the ships were visited by some boats, having on board people well clothed in cotton, and wearing silk turbans like those of Barbary, a circumstance which delighted the eye of the navigators, from the assurance it conveyed that they had completely passed the domain of barbarism.—H. MURRAY.







THE Suez Canal has altered the current of the trade of Europe with the East. It prefigures the construction of a canal in Central America, which will have still more important commercial effects. The political results of the former have not yet been so important as were anticipated.

Ferdinand de Lesseps, to whose energy the existence of the Suez Canal is due, was born at Versailles, November

19, 1805. Diplomatic instincts and a thirst for adventure were hereditary in his family. All were ardent patriots, men of action and of movement. Ferdinand de Lesseps manifested the same predilections as his ancestors. He received his education under the auspices and at the expense of the State, at the Collège Henri IV. In 1825 he was appointed as attaché to the French Consulate at Lisbon, and afterwards was transferred to Tunis, and thence to Egypt in 1831. He became Consul at Cairo in 1833, and subsequently at Rotterdam, Malaga, and Barcelona.

Selected immediately after the Revolution of 1848, by Lamartine, for the French embassy in Spain, M. de Lesseps was about to repair to Madrid when he learned that the royal

family had left behind them all their most valuable effects, including the jewelry of the Spanish Princess, who was the wife of the Duc de Montpensier. The new ambassador determined to recover this, and after great difficulty arranged to have the whole taken to the Spanish embassy, and gave a receipt for what had been deposited in the treasury and the library. This transaction secured him a warm welcome.

As far back as 1841 M. de Lesseps' project of cutting a canal through the Isthmus of Suez had dawned upon him. The enterprise had taken possession of his imagination after reading the memoirs of Lepère, the head engineer in the expedition of General Bonaparte. For years he brooded over the scheme; but it was not until 1854, while on a visit to Said Pasha, the new Viceroy of Egypt, that he first revealed the project that will be most lastingly associated with his name. He said to the viceroy, "I am not a financier. What do you think I had better do?" The viceroy recommended him to obtain preliminary subscriptions, and as M. de Lesseps had many rich friends he soon got a hundred to join him. Each put in a share of about \$1,000. This sum served for the preliminary investigations which the projectors caused to be made by European engineers, who examined the ground and supported him in his contention that the seas to be united were on the same level, which was stoutly denied, and that the work to be undertaken must be a purely maritime one. Said Pasha requested M. de Lesseps to draw up a scheme in connection with his idea. This was done, and the viceroy granted a firman approving the enterprise. Nevertheless, the scheme met with all kinds of objections, especially in England, and to remove some of these De Lesseps wrote to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, English ambassador at Constantinople, on February 28, 1855. His predictions as to the political consequences of his work have proved to be singularly mistaken.

M. de Lesseps visited England in June, and had an interview with Lord Palmerston, but failed to remove that statesman's prejudices against the scheme. De Lesseps visited London again in 1856, and had a second interview with Lord Palmerston, who distinctly declared that he should continue

to be his adversary. But the persuasive Frenchman found powerful friends. On the 6th of May he was presented to Queen Victoria, and had a very long conversation with Prince Albert. At a dinner given to him by the Geographical Society of England, Mr. Gladstone said he at first entertained considerable doubts regarding the project, but he was only too anxious to be persuaded, and heartily wished the scheme and its projector success.

Two years after this M. de Lesseps was received by Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, at St. Cloud: "How is it," his Majesty asked, "that so many people are against your enterprise?" De Lesseps replied, "Your Majesty, it is because they think you will not stand by us." The emperor observed, after a brief silence, "Well, do not be uneasy; you may count on my assistance and protection."

In January, 1856, De Lesseps, having obtained a formal letter of concession from Said Pasha, had published a clear and definite exposition of his views in a pamphlet, "*Perceement de L'Isthmus de Suez. Exposé et documents officiels.*" Yet many eminent engineers still doubted the practicability of the scheme. Nevertheless a capital of two millions of francs was subscribed, and in 1859 the work was commenced. Large sums were expended, and the Pasha of Egypt took a great quantity of shares in the undertaking.

De Lesseps opened his canal on the 15th of August, 1865, with sufficient water to admit of the passage of small steamboats. The channel was widened and deepened by special machinery, and in March, 1867, small ships were able to make use of the canal. In the following November the canal was formally opened at Port Said amid a series of brilliant festivities. Honors poured in upon M. de Lesseps. He was appointed to the rank of Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor. In 1873 De Lesseps was elected a member of the French Academy of Sciences. In 1875, through the instrumentality of Disraeli, the English Government purchased from the Khedive of Egypt, for £3,800,000 (\$19,000,000), the original shares held by him. In 1881 De Lesseps was elected President of the French Geographical Society. He promoted the project of the Corinth Canal, and made a journey in Algeria

and Tunis to study the scheme of Commandant Roudaire for the creation of an inland sea in Africa.

Gradually, however, De Lesseps became wholly absorbed in the fatal undertaking which was to prove his ruin—the Panama Canal. The latter waterway, designed by M. de Lesseps, was intended to connect the Atlantic Ocean at Aspinwall (Colon) with the Pacific at the City of Panama—the oldest existing European settlement in America. His plan was to follow the course of the railway already connecting the two cities, except in certain places where the line of the river Chagres was to be more closely adhered to. The increased cost of the work, and the difficulty of raising sufficient additional capital, compelled the projector to reduce the amount of cutting by resorting to a locked canal, a system which he had originally rejected as inadequate for the anticipated traffic. The financial history of the scheme was very checkered. Although in the outset American opposition endangered the prospects of success, a company was formed and operations began on the 1st of February, 1881. But for the next six years the work was only fitfully continued. Attacks upon its alleged chimerical nature, and the enormous expense involved, as well as upon the serious loss of life which the climate entailed among the laborers, were constantly made. In 1888 a lottery loan was issued with the understanding that 400,000 bonds were to be applied for. De Lesseps himself wrote a letter appealing to Frenchmen, and to all his associates to assist in completing the canal. It was in vain. The shareholders, however, met in Paris, when a resolution was adopted declaring confidence in M. de Lesseps, and resolving to cease to claim payment of coupons and annuities until the canal was open.

In January, 1889, General Boulanger gave his support to the scheme, and M. de Lesseps was offered the chairmanship of a new company, with a capital of 25,000,000 francs to complete the work. But America was still hostile to the canal, and at Washington, on January 7th, the Senate passed a resolution by forty-nine votes to three, in secret session, disapproving of the connection of any European Government with the construction or control of any ship-canal across the Isthmus



of Darien, and the President was requested to communicate this resolution to the Governments of Europe. A new company, however, was formed under the name of the Panama Canal Completion Company. Sixty thousand shares at 500 francs each were issued at par, payable in three instalments. This was but short-lived.

The feeling in France was now very bitter against the directors of the old company. Out of some 1,272,000,000 francs sunk in the Panama project, only 783,000,000 francs had been spent on the works, the rest being frittered away in France. It was determined to institute an official inquiry into the actions of M. de Lesseps and his colleagues, which was concluded November 15, 1892, and the world was startled by the announcement that the legal advisers of the Government had decided to institute a prosecution against M. de Lesseps and his co-directors for breach of trust and malversation of funds. Few believed that M. de Lesseps was guilty of anything more than a disregard for the practical difficulties of the undertaking. The central figure in this humiliating drama was lying at his country seat of La Chesnaye, aged and enfeebled, and almost oblivious of everything around him.

The trial of the Panama directors began January 10, 1893, in the Paris Court of Appeal. M. de Lesseps being utterly unable to leave his home, Charles de Lesseps his son, was examined. On February 9th the Court passed judgment, and all the sentences were unexpectedly severe. M. Ferdinand de Lesseps was sentenced to five years, and to pay a fine of 3,000 francs. A telegram was sent to La Chesnaye informing Madame de Lesseps of the result of the trial, but this was kept from her aged husband. Some days afterwards Charles de Lesseps was allowed to visit his father, when a painful and affecting interview took place. After his son's departure M. de Lesseps relapsed into his old state of stupor. A second Panama trial followed for bribery and corruption. It came to a close March 21st, when the jury pronounced a verdict of guilty against Charles de Lesseps and M. Blondin. The sentence passed upon M. Ferdinand de Lesseps in the first trial was generally condemned for its over-severity, and the prosecution was regarded as being somewhat political. The aged De



Lesseps was never imprisoned, but died after a brief illness, at La Chesnaye, his country home, on the 7th of December, 1894. Public opinion, which once regarded De Lesseps as a brilliant engineer and a consummate financier, has greatly lowered its appreciation of the originator of the Suez Canal. He was not really a financier nor an engineer; he was rather a diplomat or clever promoter of grand schemes originating with others. He was a man of great resource, of indomitable perseverance, of boundless faith in himself, and of singular powers of fascination over others.

#### THE SUEZ CANAL.

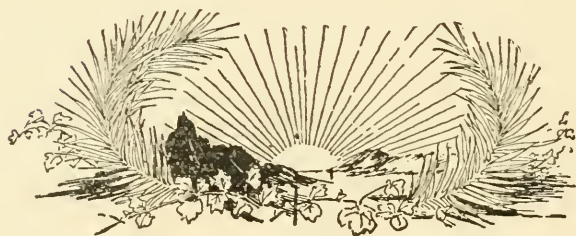
The total length of the Canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea is eighty-six miles, with a varying width at the water-line of 328 feet where the banks are low, and of 190 feet in deep cuttings where they are high, depth twenty-six feet, width at the bottom seventy-two feet, with a slope of bank near the water-line of one in five, and near the base of one in two. With reference to the width of water-line and nature of the soil traversed, the whole channel may be divided into nine sections—(1) The low marshy plain extending for ten miles from the roadstead of Suez to the plateau of Shaloof; in this section the water-line is of the full width, and much of the soil towards the bottom of the channel is of a mixed stiff clay and half-formed stone, which proved very difficult of excavation when worked through in 1868 and 1869. (2) The deep Shaloof cutting of five miles, in which the water-line is of the reduced width, and the soil sandy at top, but like that of the previous section strong and tenacious below; a deep layer of rock was encountered here in 1866, of which no less than 52,000 cubic yards had to be blasted and cleared away. (3) The Bitter Lakes, supposed to have anciently formed the Heröopolite Gulf, the waters of which, after being gradually cut off from the Red Sea, evaporated and left two large depressions of varying depth, but both much below the sea-level. It is hereabouts that some modern critics place the scene of Pharaoh's overthrow during his pursuit of the Israelites. The only excavation done in this long section of twenty-five miles was a cutting through the narrow

neck of soil between the two basins, and short entrances north and south; but the work of filling the vast expanse with water was one of considerable time and labor. This was begun in March, 1869, by letting in the waters of the Mediterranean, which had already filled Lake Timsah, eight miles north, and advanced through the Canal to the foot of the enormous weir destined to regulate their flow in these southern basins. A stream of nearly 5,000,000 cubic metres was then poured in daily, and three months later a still larger weir near Shaloof admitted the waters of the Red Sea into the southern portion of the lake at the rate of more than 10,000,000 cubic metres a day. Altogether, about 1,900,000,000 cubic metres of water from the two seas were required to fill these Bitter Lakes. The course of the Canal through this great sheet of water is marked by a double line of buoys, forming an avenue 130 feet wide, and lighthouses at each end of the larger lake further assist navigation. (4) This short section of two miles runs through the lower ground between the last and the heights of the Serapeum—so named from some supposed remains of a temple of Serapis found about the centre of the plateau. The water-line of the Canal is here full width, and the soil cut through is similar to that south of the Bitter Lakes. (5) This includes the Serapeum and Toussoum cuttings, six miles long, and in which the water-line is of the reduced width throughout. The soil here again is sandy on the surface, and mixed clay and rock at the bottom. It was at the southern end of the Serapeum cutting that the dredges at the last moment encountered the ledge of hard rock which nearly compelled postponement of the opening of the Canal in November, 1869. (6) About half a mile north of the Toussoum cutting Lake Timsah is reached, through which the channel next runs for five miles. This, though supposed to have been originally an extension of the Heröopolite Gulf, has in all historic times been a fresh-water lake fed from the Nile; but owing to the abandonment of the easternmost branches of the river, it had long ago dried up into a mere morass, the bottom of which was some twenty-two feet below the sea-level. In December, 1866, a weir similar to that afterwards employed for the Bitter Lakes was used to fill it with

water from the Mediterranean, and the operation—involving the in-flow of nearly 100,000,000 cubic metres of water—was completed in a little more than four months. Dredging then deepened the channel required for the Canal, as also a large area in the centre, to serve as a harbor. The flourishing town of Ismaïlia, forming the half-way station on the Canal, has since grown up on its western bank. (7) The heights of El-Guisr, through which this section is carried for six miles, form the highest point of the Isthmus, being about sixty feet above the sea-level, but as the soil throughout was for the most part sandy, the work was comparatively light. (8) This first runs a short way through an offshoot of Lake Ballah—one of a series of shallow lagoons—and then enters the cutting of Ferdaneh, beyond which it passes through Lake Ballah itself, and next traverses the low sand-hills of Kantarah, over which and a ferry at this point runs the route into Palestine. (9) About a mile beyond Kantarah the Canal enters the great swamp into which Lake Menzaleh shallows eastwards, and runs through it in a straight line of twenty-three miles to Port Saïd. The soil throughout this final section is mostly light clay, and the work was mainly done by dredging. The water-line here is full width, and the banks are but slightly above the level of the lake and the Canal. Shortly before reaching Port Saïd the channel opens out to a width of nearly 100 feet, and, passing the port and town on its western bank, debouches into the Mediterranean between two enormous moles of concrete masonry, respectively 2,726 and 1,962 yards long—a fitting terminus for this colossal work.

After more than ten years' labor, the expenditure of a capital which then considerably exceeded twice the whole annual revenue of Egypt, and the display of an energy and perseverance on the part of its chief promoter that formed not the least heroic feature of the undertaking, this new Bosphorus between Asia and Africa was opened for traffic on November 17, 1869, amid a series of splendid *fêtes* given by the Khedive, at which all nations may be said to have assisted. The presence of the Empress of the French and the Emperor of Austria, of half a dozen royal princes, with statesmen, ambassadors, *savants*, and other celebrities beyond

count, besides thousands of less distinguished visitors, and representative squadrons from every navy in Europe, rendered the occasion a veritable "triumph" to the great Frenchman whose name history will indissolubly connect with the work, and to the sovereign whose generous co-operation contributed so largely to its success. In all, forty-eight ships took part in the procession, which halted on the first evening at Ismailia, and completed the voyage to Suez on the following day. The channel still required deepening at a few points, but was immediately available for vessels drawing 18 feet; and, as another illustration of the irony of history, the first ship that passed through and paid dues after the formal opening flew the English flag.—J. C. McCOAN.









J.L.G. FERRIS, PINX

*DEATH OF GENERAL GORDON AT KHARTOUM.*



EACH generation has its heroes, of high and of humble degree, but rarely indeed is the heroism of showy adventure and military exploit associated with the nobler heroism of devotion to pious duty to the poor in absolute contempt for worldly rewards and popular applause. Charles George Gordon stands out from the rank and file of the noble army

of truly great men by virtue of this peculiarity—his bias and fitness for the life of a religious ascetic given to meditative mysticism and practical charity, while equally capable and enthusiastic when the call of duty transformed him into a dashing soldier, a fearless explorer, a deft handler of uncivilized hordes, a shrewd statesman, a masterful ruler, and, at last, a heroic martyr in his country's cause. No other eulogy is needed beyond the bare recital of his crowded life-work.

Born in 1833, Gordon displayed no exceptional gifts during his youth, nor as a subaltern in the Royal Engineers. He served in the siege of Sebastopol, and earned the ribbon of the Legion of Honor for "personal knowledge of the enemy's

movements, such as no other officer attained." From 1856 until 1858 he was laying down the new frontier lines of Russia, Turkey, Roumania and Armenia. In 1860 he took part in the looting of the Pekin Summer Palace by the English and French allies. The great Tai-ping rebellion was threatening ruin to the reigning dynasty, which led to the engagement of Captain Gordon, in his thirtieth year, as commander of the imperial army. This consisted of a ragged regiment of some four thousand untrained Chinese, officered by 150 European soldiers of fortune, previously headed by two Americans—Ward, who died, and Burgevine, who was dismissed for corruption, and afterwards joined the rebels.

Gordon's success in smashing up the rebellion with his "Ever Victorious" army was not easily achieved. He had to turn novices into disciplined troops, teach them European tactics, inspire them with courage by himself moving among them wherever the danger was greatest, cool and wide-awake, armed with nothing but a short rattan cane. He never donned a uniform nor put on official airs or phraseology, except on occasions of state ceremony. When shot through the leg—the only injury he ever got—he hotly resented the well-meant service of his comrade, who called for the surgeon. Gordon went on as before, giving orders and showing the way until he grew faint, and then he fought with all his might against those who bore him off the field by main force. The natives were sure their commander had a charmed life; there was magic in his wand which saved him in hottest peril and made them "Ever Victorious."

When the end came, after a hard campaign, lasting from March, 1863 until June, 1864, Gordon was offered the highest honors, including the famous yellow jacket and peacock feather, and a large sum of money. This latter he indignantly refused, because of Li Hung Chang's treachery in having executed six rebel leaders whose lives Gordon had made him promise to spare. So the victorious liberator left China as he came to it—a poor man.

From 1865 until 1871 Colonel Gordon was stationed at Gravesend, near London, in command of the body of Engineers charged with improving the defences of the Thames.

He disdained to be lionized by society. His house was school, almshouse and hospital; the poor of the town were his most welcome and numerous guests; the sick found in him their tireless nurse and minister of solace; and he gathered around him the rough lads of the streets, whom he schooled and trained to enter the army and navy. He called them his "kings." His large garden was allotted to poor folk who cared to cultivate it and keep the results; the presents of fruits and flowers sent to him went straightway to the sick. The plainest table with the least fuss suited him the best; and his only reason for not having made away with his silver tea-service was that it would provide his funeral expenses. The only decoration he really prized was a special gold medal from the Emperor of China. Long afterward it came out that he had effaced his name from it, and given it to the fund for the starving weavers of Lancashire during the cotton famine. He was to be found at all hours, alone, in the slums with the suffering and among the roughs, but never upon public platforms as a talker. These six Good-Samaritan years were the happiest of his always self-sacrificing life.

From 1871 to 1873 he was British commissioner at Galatz, improving the mouth of the Danube under the treaty of Paris. Sir Samuel Baker, the explorer, had retired as Governor of the Tribes in Upper Egypt under the Khedive. Gordon was pressed to take the post at a salary of \$50,000; he took it, but would not accept more than \$10,000, which was the amount of his English salary. Very soon the hatred of the slave-dealing tribes, who regarded him as an oppressor, changed to confidence and warm regard. From fateful Khartoum Gordon issued his decree against the slave-trade. A single sentence must suffice to mark the thrilling experiences of his camel-ride through the burning desert and hostile villages; tugging boats over impassable rocks; compelling necessary work from lazy Arabs; deaths of his interpreters and old servants, with minor annoyances of prickly-heat torture, as of thousands of mosquito-stings over all the body; twice shocked by lightning, and acute nerve-tension from ever-present possibility of assassination. But, as has been said, his frank bearing, with clear-headedness and uncompromising fidelity to square deal-



ing, won the Soudanese completely. Meantime, amid these tasks of statecraft and absolute monarchy, Gordon found relief in exploring Lake Albert Nyanza, and making maps of new territories.

Back in London again in 1876, but now he was implored to become the saviour and ruler of Bulgaria. Unhappily, perhaps, for that distressed country, another and a more congenial call awaited Gordon. This time he was appointed Governor-General of the Soudan, and the record of his doings and royal progresses through that region, from 1877 until near 1880, reads like a tale from the "Arabian Nights." Five months on camel-back at a stretch; a 4,000 miles flight, rather than journey; so did he speed on the swiftest beast ever known there, far ahead of his little force, hastening to the relief of garrisons sorely besieged by rebel tribes. Many a time the brave heart prayed for death in his overburden of cares and isolation, and inadequate means. But he never flinched, seeing that God willed the postponement of death. Gordon was a Christian fatalist: "I have really no troops with me, but I have the Shekinah, and I do like trusting to Him, and not to men." "It is a delightful thing," he says in a letter, "to be a fatalist, not as that word is generally employed, but to accept that, *when things happen*, and *not before*, God has for some wise reason so ordained them to happen." How Gordon went alone on a mission to the King of Abyssinia, and on being proffered a lower seat, at once lifted it up alongside the king's, and sat there as an equal—this, and many similar instances of Gordon's characteristic simple strength, must remain untold here. He invited King Johannis to kill him (Gordon) as he could not kill himself, with his religious beliefs. Not this king only, but all who ever had anything to do with Gordon, whether savage or civilized, were strangely impressed by his absolute indifference to his own interests or fate.

On resigning his governorship, Gordon was offered the secretaryship to the Viceroy of India, a post of the highest responsibility and emolument. No sooner had Gordon set foot in India than he resigned, having changed his mind on the voyage. At once he rushed away to China, and his



influence was potent in preventing the imminent war between China and Russia.

In 1882, being now major-general, Gordon accepted service to settle the quarrels between the Cape Government and that of Basutoland. This was a fruitless effort. Next year Gordon indulged a long-cherished hobby of settling in Palestine, where he explored sites and developed theories of the Holy Sepulchre and other sacred places, planned a grand Jordan canal, and made a survey of Jerusalem. But the King of the Belgians wanted him to take the headship of the new Congo State. He liked the idea, and was arranging to retire from the British army when, unexpectedly, his government refused him permission to retire. They were in trouble in Egypt and the Soudan. The story is familiar. The False Prophet (Mahdi) had gathered vast hordes of fighting men and had made telling conquests; an Egyptian army of 10,000, under command of the English Colonel Hicks, had been entrapped and exterminated. The British Government was resolved upon evacuating the Soudan, leaving it to its own slave-trading home-rule; but before this could be done the various scattered garrisons of the Khedive, whom England backed up, had to be relieved and brought safely back. This was the stiff task, and Gordon was the man to do it. He had accepted the Belgian king's appointment, and was ready to go. On January 15, 1884, he was summoned to the English War Office. The talk there ended in nothing definite, so Gordon took the first boat to Belgium. On the 16th he left Brussels to start for the Congo State. On the 17th he was wired for and returned to London the same evening. On the 18th he met the English Cabinet, and before nightfall he was speeding to the Soudan, whence he was never to return.

The final chapter of the distressing story is a confusion of cross-purposes, misunderstandings and fatal delays on the part of the British Government of the day, not without some puzzling manifestations on Gordon's side, which, in a smaller man, would pass as eccentricities; but in him they were simply the natural acts and explosive protests of a strong man who *knew*, against the vacillations of absent weak ones, who had not first-hand knowledge, but whom he was bound to obey. He

reached Khartoum in February, and managed to send 2,500 people down the Nile in safety, when the Mahdi came up and hemmed him in. In April the wires were cut, and thereafter all was dead silence.

England was furious at the hero being thus caught in a trap, and no rescue forces sent to help him out. The government's strange reply was that Gordon was not sent specifically to Khartoum, he went there in his discretion, and he was perfectly free to leave it. But he could not. At last, in August, his pitiless employers had to send out an expedition. It reached Khartoum in March, 1885. But it was too late. Hearing of the relief approaching, the Mahdi's troops forced the little garrison, and on January 26 Gordon was surrounded and stabbed to death as he came out of the mud-palace gate.

Only then, after long months of agonizing suspense, did his countrymen learn from the journals kept by himself and comrades, that Gordon had turned a few rickety river boats into armor-clad war ships; had made brilliant sallies against the enemy; had built earthworks and forts; had trained and inspired the poor natives to do heroic soldier-work; had laid mines; had struck medals for his braves; had gathered the food and fed all alike in equity; and in the teeth of five months' heart-breaking isolation, desertion, semi-starvation, the slaughter of his English comrades and the destruction of his little fleet, had held out in very despair against overwhelming numbers. Bitterly he resented the official theory which pinned him down to a policy which he knew was good for neither the Soudanese, the government, nor himself; but he was a tool, his duty was clear, and he went down to his death with the contemptuous indifference to personal interest which illuminates his whole life with rare glory.

These are from his telegrams to the British Government: "You ask me to state cause of staying at Khartoum. I stay at Khartoum because Arabs have shut us up and will not let us out. If we get out, it is in answer to prayer." "While you are eating, drinking, and resting in good beds, we soldiers and servants are watching by night and day." "I shall leave you the indelible disgrace of abandoning the garrisons." "I accept nothing from Gladstone's government; I will not even

let them pay my expenses. I will never put foot in England again."

These are from his Journals, recovered after his death: "To-morrow it will be 270 days—9 months—that we have endured one continuous misery and anxiety. . . . Truly, I am worn to a shadow with the food question. It is one continual demand. . . . Small Church parade. I sincerely hope this will be the last we shall have to witness. . . . We are going to send down the *Bordeen* (river boat) to-morrow, and with her I shall send this journal.—*If some effort is not made in ten days' time, the town will fall.* It is inexplicable, this delay. . . . Game is up; expect catastrophe in ten days." To his sister he writes: "I am quite happy, thank God, and, like Lawrence, I have tried to do my duty." The last entry, on December 14, is: "I have done my best for the honor of my country. Good-bye.—C. G. Gordon." The end came on the 317th day. England has enriched Gordon's relatives, put up statues and memorials to his name, and established a Gordon Boys' Home. It might have saved the living man.

#### GORDON'S ENTRY INTO KHARTOUM.

On Friday, January 20, 1884, the nation learned that General Gordon left England for the Soudan, having accepted the mission "to report on the military situation there, to provide in the best manner for the safety of the European population of Khartoum, and of the Egyptian garrisons throughout the country, as well as for the evacuation of the Soudan, with the exception of the seaboard." Mr. Gladstone, in the House of Commons, on February 12th, defined more closely the duty which Gordon had undertaken. "General Gordon went," said the premier, "not for the purpose of reconquering the Soudan, or to persuade the chiefs of the Soudan—the Sultans at the head of their troops—to submit themselves to the Egyptian government. He went for the double purpose of evacuating the country, by extricating the Egyptian garrisons, and reconstituting it, by giving back to these Sultans their ancestral powers, withdrawn or suspended during the period of Egyptian occupation. General Gordon has in view

the withdrawal of no less than 29,000 persons under military service in Egypt, and the House will see how vast was the trust which was placed in the hands of this remarkable person. We cannot exaggerate the importance we attach to his mission. We are unwilling—I may say we were resolved—to do nothing which should interfere with the pacific scheme, a scheme, be it remembered, absolutely the only scheme, which promised a satisfactory solution of the Soudanese difficulty by at once extricating the garrisons and reconstituting the country upon its old basis of local privileges.”

The original intention was that General Gordon should go through the Suez canal straight to Suakim, and thence attempt to reach Khartoum by the Berber route, relying for his safety in this hazardous enterprise on his old friendly relations with the Hadendoah tribes. But Colonel Harrington had come back from Suakim with an unfavorable report as to the practicability of the Suakim-Berber road, and, influenced doubtless by other reasons more than by this argument, Gordon altered his route so as to include Cairo, and reached that capital on the night of January 25th, arriving, as was his wont, in advance of the time at which he was expected. He was keen to push forward, and had desired to leave Cairo within twenty-four hours, but was prevailed on to stay a day longer, for many questions had to be discussed and many points settled. On the morning of the 26th he had an interview with the Khedive which was of a very cordial character, his Highness expressing great satisfaction that Gordon should have undertaken to go to the Soudan, and his complete confidence in him. When Gordon left Cairo on January 27th he went, not only as British High Commissioner, but as the Khedive's Governor-General of the Soudan. He was accompanied by the son of the Sultan of Darfour, to whom the Khedive, at Gordon's suggestion, had restored, so far as he was concerned, the parental dominions, and General Graham convoyed his old comrade as far as Assouan. When they reached Korosko, General Gordon and Colonel Stewart quitted the Nile Valley and struck across the Nubian Desert, on their camel ride of two hundred and forty miles to Abou Hamed. They plunged into the desert without any military escort.

It was on February 11th that General Gordon reached Berber, "in high spirits and very sanguine as to the success of his mission." He threw himself into his work with all his old energy. Before leaving Berber he confirmed Hussein Bey Halifa in the governorship, strengthening his position by giving him a Council of Notables, and he sent forward orders to Khartoum removing Hussein Pacha from the Vice-Governor-Generalship, and appointing in his room Colonel de Coetlogen, who had been in military charge ever since the catastrophe which befell Hicks Pacha's army. In advance of General Gordon's arrival in the capital, the city was placarded with a proclamation sent forward by him, proclaiming the Mahdi Sultan of Kordofan, remitting one-half of the taxes, and permitting the trade in slaves to be carried on. The proclamation is said to have given universal satisfaction.

Gordon telegraphed: "Am leaving for Khartoum, and believe you need not give yourself any further anxiety about this part of the Soudan. The people, great and small, are heartily glad to be free from a union which has only caused them sorrow."

It was on the morning of Tuesday, February 18th, that General Gordon made his entry into Khartoum. In one of his letters home he describes how when entering Keren, arrayed in the splendid "gold coat" of a field-marshal, and in the pomp befitting the Governor-General of the Soudan, the humor of his fancy had suggested to him some resemblance in the eyes of the populace between him and "the Divine Figure from the North" who was just then a good deal in the mouths of men. A veritable "Divine Figure" he must have shone in the sight of the people of Khartoum as he came among them on this February morning. No wonder that as he passed to the Palace from the Mudirieli, where he had been holding a levee to which the poorest Arab was admitted, the people pressed about him, kissing his hands and feet, and hailing him as "Sultan," "Father," and "Saviour!" There on the shelves were the government ledgers, on whose pages were the long records of the outstanding debts that weighed down the overtaxed people. On the walls hung the kourbashes, whips, and bastinado rods,



implements of tyranny and torture. Gordon wiped out the evidences of debts and destroyed the emblems of oppression in a fine impulse of characteristic ardor. A fire was made in front of the palace, and the books and the bastinado rods thrown on this funeral pyre of Egyptian tyranny.

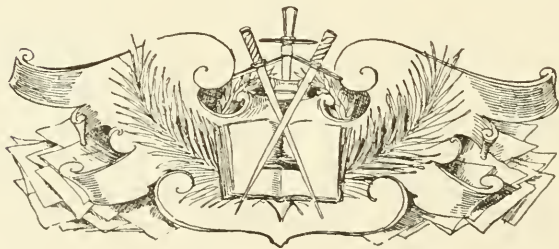
He had so but begun the day's work. From the council chamber he hurried to the hospital, thence to inspect the arsenal. Then he darted to the heart of the misery of the prison. In that loathsome den two hundred wretched beings were rotting in their chains. Young and old, condemned and untried, the proven innocent and the arrested on suspicion, he found all clotted together in one mass of common suffering. With wrathful disgust, Gordon set about the summary work of liberation. Before night fell the chains had fallen from off scores of the miserables, and the beneficent labor was being steadily pursued. Ere this busy day closed Gordon's energy had left him hardly anything to do inside of Khartoum.—A. FORBES.

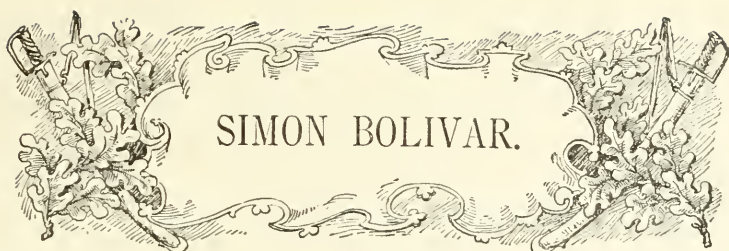
#### FOR THE GRAVE OF GORDON.

"I had rather be dead than praised."—C. G. G.

By those for whom he lived he died. His land  
Awoke too late, and crowned dead brows with praise.  
He, 'neath the blue that burns o'er Libyan sand,  
Put off the burden of heroic days.  
There strong by death, by failure glorified,  
O, never proud in life, lie down in pride.

—LORD TENNYSON.





## SIMON BOLIVAR.



THE fame of Bolivar has been obscured by the failure of the Spanish-American republics to maintain liberty with order. The Washington of South America built his house upon the sand.

Simon Bolivar was the son of Juan Vicente Bolivar y Ponte and Doña Maria Concepcion Palacios y Sojo. Each of his parents had large wealth, and belonged to the nobility. Simon, their only son, was born

in Caracas, July 24, 1783. His parents dying when he was quite young, Simon was left to the care of his uncle, the Marquis de Palacios, who sent him to Madrid, where he was educated. He also traveled through Italy, Switzerland, Germany, England, and France. He cultivated the society of the learned, and gave much study to jurisprudence. He was an eye-witness to some of the last scenes of the Revolution in Paris. Remarkable events were before him, for which his varied experiences were gradually fitting him. He was a bold horseman, possessed of great strength, and carried a soldier-like bearing. He was of a lively temperament, master of vivacity, fond of dancing, fluent in speech, and gifted with a noble eloquence. By nature he was refined and attractive ;

his temper was fiery, but his self-mastery was perfect. He was a man of independent habits of thought, strong individuality, and great strength of character. Education and travel had given him extensive information, while his rare social qualities made him a charming companion.

On his second return to Madrid he met the beautiful daughter of the Marquis de Cro, then sixteen years of age, and most highly accomplished; also, full of the vivacity and fascinations for which Spanish ladies are justly noted. In 1801 they were married, and looked forward to a happy domestic life. Sailing from Madrid, they arrived at La Guayra, near the elegant estate that he had inherited from his father. The yellow fever was prevailing at Aragua—that beautiful spot where his anticipations for happiness were so great. It seized upon his charming wife, and there she died. His grief was frantic, and drove him into exile.

The bereaved husband did not return till 1809. Part of the interval was spent in the United States, where he made a study of the political situation. On his return he identified himself with the cause of independence. The South American Colonies, after long submission to Spain, began to rise and resist their oppressors. Despotism and avarice were disgustingly shown in the government of the viceroys and captains-general, who, with all of the principal officers of the viceroyal court, were sent from Madrid; and, being in reality under no responsibility, fairly revelled in every kind of tyranny. Justice was bought and sold. The most important legal decisions were made in favor of the highest bidder. The mercantile policy of Spain was despotic and rapacious. To preserve the monopoly of the wine trade, the culture of the vine, though appropriate to the climate, was strictly prohibited. Manufactures were not permitted. Cargoes of the refuse of Spain's city shops were forced in barter for bullion upon a half-civilized people who could not use them! Foreign commerce was forbidden on pain of death. Social improvement was suppressed. All intercourse with any country or people save Spain or Spaniards was strictly forbidden; even with Spaniards it was allowed only under many restrictions. The disposition to shake off Spain's tyranny had occasioned

desperate attempts, but these were soon quelled, after the leaders were destroyed by the cruelest kinds of death.

In undertaking to marshal the friends of liberty for resistance at this time Bolivar labored under every possible disadvantage. He had to rely upon his own clear brain, without outside aid. His countrymen were of many castes: Creoles, Indians, and Africans, all more or less ignorant and indolent, and mostly morally degraded adventurers rampant for thieving and plunder. The cavalry were worse; whole regiments of half-savages mounted on their wild horses would desert from one side to the other at any fancied chance of success. As to his generals, it is said that "General Arismendi could neither read nor write; Paez was a mulatto bull-hunter, while General Bermudez always took the field in a dirty blanket with a hole in the centre for his head." This was probably the poncho worn by the peons or countrymen.

Bolivar was induced to go to England with Don Louis Mendez, to solicit the British Cabinet to aid the cause of the independents. Of this mission he paid all the expenses. The English preferred to be neutral. In 1811 the Spanish standard was cut down, and independence was declared and held. Bolivar became governor of Puerto Cabello, then containing 1,200 prisoners of war, but after a fearful earthquake they broke loose and took possession of the citadel—murdering the garrison; and only by destroying the town could Bolivar have regained it. General Miranda, on learning of the loss of this important fortress, so well stored with provisions and ammunition, capitulated in despair and prepared to leave the country; but he was arrested by a party of patriot leaders, including Bolivar, who accused him of being a traitor. Finally General Miranda was sent in irons to Spain, and died in a dungeon.

Bolivar went to Carthagená and raised a liberating army, of which he was commander-in-chief. He drove the royalists from Tenerife, and so on to Cucuta, whence he expelled Correa, the commander, and "secured volunteers, provisions and money." He made a triumphal march to Bogota, where he was substantially aided. He entered Venezuela, defeated the royalists, and took possession of the Province of Varinas. Castillo denounced his precipitancy as rash and mad. They



separated. The patriots rose and joined Bolivar. He divided his army, giving Ribas command of one division. They advanced upon Caracas. Driven to desperation by the cruelties of the officers of Monteverde, their cry was, "*Guerra á muerte*" (War to the death).

On the 12th of August the army entered Caracas to find the city in joy. Bolivar was gratified beyond expression. He was greeted with shouts, music, bells and artillery, and drawn into the city in a triumphal car by twelve beautiful young ladies of the highest rank, who were dressed in white, trimmed with the patriot colors. His way was strewn with flowers, and he was crowned with laurel. All the prisons were opened, and hundreds poured out to thank him for once more giving them the sight of heaven. Never did mortal man have a more complete triumph. His eyes filled with tears of gratitude to Heaven for such a result. Even General Holstein, his bitter enemy, acknowledged he deserved great praise.

Bolivar's power at that moment was unlimited. He took the title of Dictator and Liberator of the Western Provinces of Venezuela, while General Marino took command of the Eastern. Bolivar proclaimed that no royalist should be injured, yet many emigrated. The extent of his power began to give offence. He found that people believed he was seeking his own aggrandizement. On January 1, 1814, he declared before the assembled Congress, "I have consented to accept and keep the supreme power to save you from anarchy. Citizens, I am not the sovereign. Your representatives will give you laws. The revenues of the government are not the property of those who govern. Judge for yourselves if I have sought to elevate myself ; if I have not nearly sacrificed my life to constitute you a nation ! I desire that you will permit me to resign the office I hold ! . . . My only request is, that you will leave me the honor of combating your enemies." The enthusiasm in his favor was tremendous.

But the royalists began to rally, and to arm the slaves. So great were the cruelties that they practiced, that Bolivar in return ordered eight hundred of their people to be shot. Yet he afterward proclaimed that "the war to death shall cease ; no Spaniard shall be put to death except in battle." For a



time he inspired every one with confidence. Later his usual good sense and wise political ideas seemed not to serve him.

Bolivar himself became over-confident. He was beaten in battle, and lost 1,500 men, and was only saved from being taken prisoner on his own estate of San Mateo by the fleetness of his horse. "A legion of negro cavalry, with black crape on their lances, rushed from an ambush, scattering his forces; and seizing his cousin Ribas, shot him, and stuck his head on the walls of Caracas." His beautiful family home of San Mateo was burned to the ground. Bolivar and Marino fled to Carthagena. Civil dissensions ran high. The following December he marched upon Bogota with 2,000 men, and for two days stormed the outworks. Bogota capitulated, and became the seat of Congress. Santa Martha, although a fortified town, was in the hands of the royalists, owing to the weak management of the governor of Carthagena, Colonel Castillo. He had formerly been with Bolivar, whose troops were now trying to reduce Carthagena. Castillo refused to furnish supplies and issued defamatory manifestoes, as well as poisoned the wells in the vicinity.

Suddenly the arrival of General Morillo was announced, with an army of 12,000 men from Spain. The Spanish government was making great efforts to regain the Colonies. Bolivar was disheartened, and in 1815 he left for Jamaica. While in Kingston Bolivar wrote a defense of his acts in the civil war of New Grenada and exhorted the Patriots. The Royalists hired a Spaniard to assassinate him, offering him \$50,000, while the priests promised him perfect absolution. The man decided to stab him while asleep. On the night agreed upon, his secretary occupied his hammock, and in the morning the poor fellow was found stabbed to the heart. It seemed to be a special intervention of Providence. Bolivar wandered to the Dutch Islands and Hayti. In 1817 he again returned with an army; while 3,000 men from Holland, England and Ireland voluntarily joined him, fully imbued with the spirit of the country. Battles, reverses, conflicts and gains went on like games of battledore and shuttlecock. Discouragements succeeded victories. Defeats occurred to-day, only to be reversed to-morrow.

In an oration before the Congress of Venezuela, Bolivar laid great stress upon morals and knowledge; he advocated moral reform and sovereign rule, and apparently he believed in social equality and universal brotherhood. His countrymen, with possible distrust, had varied opinions of his ideas. In his speech before Congress he said, "Inexorable necessity alone could have imposed upon me the terrible and dangerous charge of supreme chief. In returning to you this authority, which I have endeavored to maintain in the midst of the most horrible troubles that can afflict a social body, I feel to breathe again." The Congress refused to accept his resignation, and in the end he accepted the title of President. Later he entered Bogota in triumph, where he was not only hailed with joy and proclaimed President, but also captain-general of the Republic, and was freely supplied with everything to drive out the Spanish troops. He restored tranquillity, but the see-saw game of adulation and suspicion continued. He entered Angostura in triumph. Arismendi was exiled; and in December, 1819, Venezuela and New Grenada were united under the name of Colombia. Still battles, victories and defeats abounded. But when, for the third time, Bolivar entered Caracas in triumph, it was to find the city a scene of desolation; and the few remaining people, while pouring out words of welcome, begged for relief.

In July, 1822, General San Martin asked his assistance in the struggle for Peruvian independence. Bolivar went to meet him at Guayaquil, and when, on the 1st of September, he entered Lima, the royalists departed, and Bolivar was received with demonstrations of joy. In 1824 the Congress of Peru, from the capital of Lima, appointed Bolivar dictator. General Miller calls this "an act of unquestionable wisdom, when the country could be saved from party insurrection and the national enemy, only by the energy and promptitude of military dictation." Even then Bolivar was accused of ambitious views. To this he replied, "Your chiefs, your internal enemies, have calumniated Colombia, her brave men and myself. The Congress has confided to me the odious office of dictator; but I declare to you, that after the enemy is vanquished my authority shall cease. You shall be gov-

erned by your own laws and your own magistrates. Returning with my own fellow-soldiers to Colombia, I will leave to you perfect liberty, nor take away from Peru a grain of her sand."

General Miller at that time commanded 4,000 Peruvians, and his accounts are to be relied upon. It is difficult to imagine the dangers and the hardships of crossing the Andes, not only in passing the snow-paths over precipices, but in the peril of being frozen. Yet Bolivar's army endured these sufferings during a march of 1,000 miles. Their fortitude and daring were unbounded.

Meanwhile, Colombia was suffering from his absence. The following December he summoned a Congress to reorganize the government. They, however, continued to him the authority of dictator, offering him a million of dollars, which he refused to accept, assuring them that the only reward he desired was the honor of their confidence. September 1, 1823, he organized an army at Lima, to attack the Spanish Viceroy in the interior. General Sucre, his second in command, was in charge at the final battle of Ayacucho, December 9, 1824, when the Spaniards were totally defeated. The Viceroy and all his officers were taken prisoners, and Spanish rule in Peru was ended.

Bolivar proceeded to the coast. In February, 1825, he convoked Congress, and resigned the dictatorship, saying, "I felicitate Peru on being delivered from that which of all things on earth is most dreadful, war! by the victory of Ayacucho, and by this my resignation." It had been a most brilliant campaign. He left April 25th, with Generals Sucre and Miller, going through Upper Peru, Arequipa, Cuzco, La Paz, and Potosi. The whole journey was one continued triumph of dinners and extravagant exultation, balls, bull-fights, illuminations, and processions. A sumptuous banquet was given on the top of the famous "Cerro de Potosi." Bolivar exclaimed, "The value of all the riches that are buried in the Andes beneath my feet is as nothing compared to the glory of having borne the standard of independence from the sultry banks of the Orinoco to place it on the frozen peak of this mountain, whose wealth has excited the envy and astonishment of the world."

After remaining a month at Potosi, Bolivar moved on to Chuquisaca, recently detached from Buenos Ayres. Here the people vied with each other in resolutions of gratitude to Bolivar and Sucre, designating them as Grand Prince, and Valiant Duke; naming their country Bolivia, and appointing Bolivar perpetual Protector, and requesting from him a plan of government. He accepted the million of dollars they offered him, on condition that they used it themselves for the purchase and liberation of 1,000 slaves in Bolivia. His own slaves he had freed in 1816.

There was a rebellion in Colombia, and Bolivar, hurrying to Bogota, used his authorized power. He proposed to reduce the army from 40,000 to 6,000; to reduce the expenses from \$14,000,000 to \$3,000,000; to diminish the number of officers; to sell the ships of war. He called all in power together and exclaimed, "Colombians, I am among you! Let the scandal of your violence and the crime of your disunion cease. I only am to blame; I have delayed my return too long." Again they felt that he alone could save the republic. General Paez called upon the people "to receive him as the thirsty earth receives the fertilizing dew of Heaven." In February, 1827, he resigned the presidency of the republic, expressing a determination to refute the imputations of ambition so freely cast upon him, by retiring to private life.

In March, 1828, a great convention assembled at Ocaña, for expression of the national will. The Republicans hoped for a favorable issue to their views. The military held, that a strong, permanent government was essential. Bolivar assumed supreme power in Colombia. He found a constitution framed on the strictest principles of justice regarding the civil rights and privileges of the people. In a degree, the Code Napoleon was copied. One feature of it said, "In lodging the executive authority in the hands of a president for life without responsibility, and with power to nominate his successor." As this would render him perpetual dictator, it alarmed the friends of liberty.

He addressed a letter to the Senate, saying, "Suspicious of tyrannical usurpation rest upon my name, disturbing the hearts of Colombians. Republicans, jealous of their liberties,

regard me with secret dread. I desire to free my countrymen from all inquietude, and so I renounce, again and again, the presidency of the republic, and entreat Congress to make me only a private citizen." They withheld their answer till the following June, and then decided not to accept his resignation and induced him to remain. After many conventions and much discussion it was "resolved to confer upon Bolivar the title of Supreme Chief of Colombia, with absolute power to regulate all the affairs of government."

In June, 1828, he entered the city in magnificent state, assuming an authority which the contenders for inviolability of the constitution denounced. So great was the excitement that assassins broke into his chamber, and Bolivar only escaped by leaping in the dark from a balcony, and lying concealed under a bridge. Insurrections became general, and he was pronounced a despot and a tyrant. Caracas turned completely round, "denouncing his ambition and rejecting his authority." A convention was held at Bogota to frame a new constitution; Bolivar opened it by saying, "I am taunted by you with aspiring to tyranny. Set me, I beseech you, beyond reach of that censure, and give to another the presidency which I now respectfully abdicate." He was entreated to retain his authority, and was assured that, "If you now abandon us, anarchy will succeed." But his decision was unalterable; and so, being exhausted in body and mind, he took his leave of public life. He was much importuned to remain, but his health was too much impaired.

On Friday, December 17, 1830, Bolivar died at San Pedro, near Cartlagena, calm and resigned, and in full communion with the Catholic Church. His constant and repeated wish was for the prosperity of his country. It is sad to reflect that he should have died unappreciated and without descendants. What availed it that history should say that the hearts of his countrymen were touched with passionate grief and veneration, or that every town should be filled with processions and orations, or that honors should be paid to his memory, denied to him living! Bolivar is not to be compared with men of other countries; his own desire was to make his country a republic and deliver it from Spanish rule.



Yet to attain these ends, he was obliged to assume dictatorial power and to wage bloody wars. In March, 1845, the independence of that republic was recorded in the Treaty of Madrid, and in March, 1854, the total emancipation of slaves in Venezuela took place.

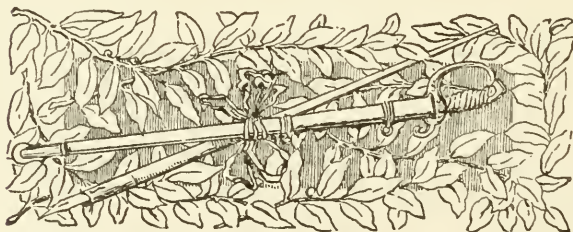
In 1842 the remains of Bolivar were removed with every mark of honor, and escorted by a magnificent national funeral, to a last resting-place in Caracas, in the Temple of St. Francisco, under the chapel of the Santissima Trinidad, and covered by a magnificent marble statue. Among the fine monuments erected to his memory is one in the Central Park of New York, presented by Venezuela.—EMMA THOMPSON.

### THE LIBERATOR.

He raised the war-cry where the Andes vast  
Re-echoed to the sound, and, on the plain  
Where laves the Orinoco in the Main,  
Colombia's children roused, as doth the blast:  
The Ocean's billows echoed the cry again:  
He led them to the battle, and though cast  
In many a combat, led them not in vain,  
For soon each foe had fled or perished 'mong the slain.

What though his country owned not all his worth,  
Nor grateful felt to him, the good, the brave,  
From all her foes who did that country save!  
A thousand generations yet, the birth  
Of time's old age, shall come from where the wave  
On Cape Horn lashes, to the farthest north,  
Where California's land-girt waters lave,  
In silent grief to mourn as o'er their father's grave.

—P. SPENCE.









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